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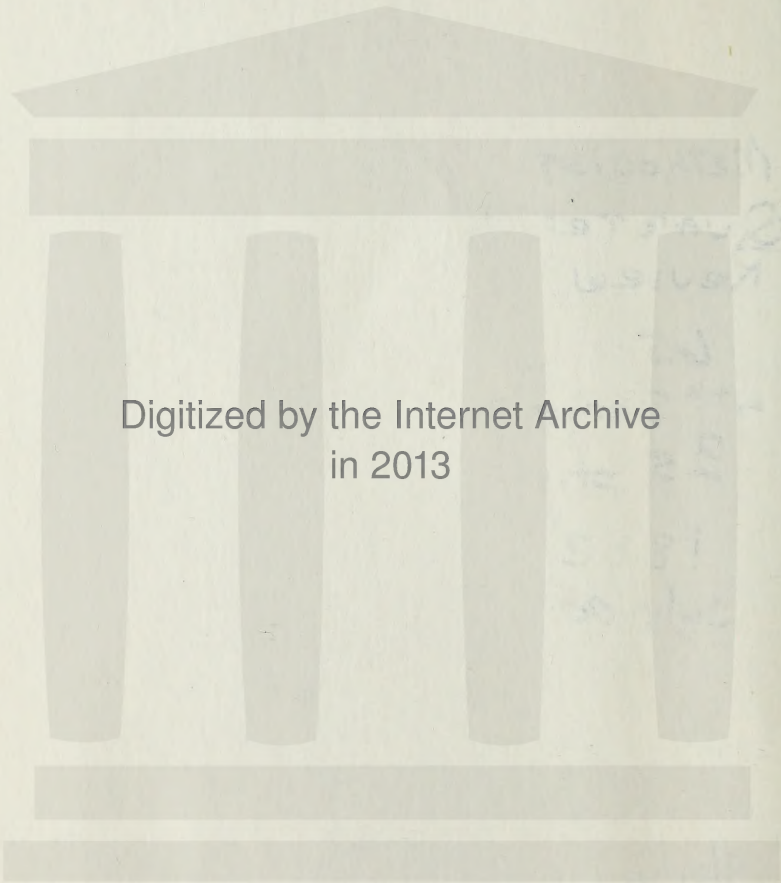

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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

1883.

VOLUME LXV.—FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME XXXV.

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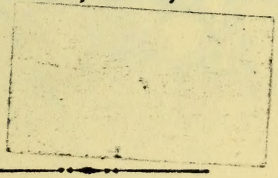
July-Oct

D. D. WHEDON, LL.D., EDITOR.



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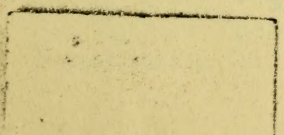

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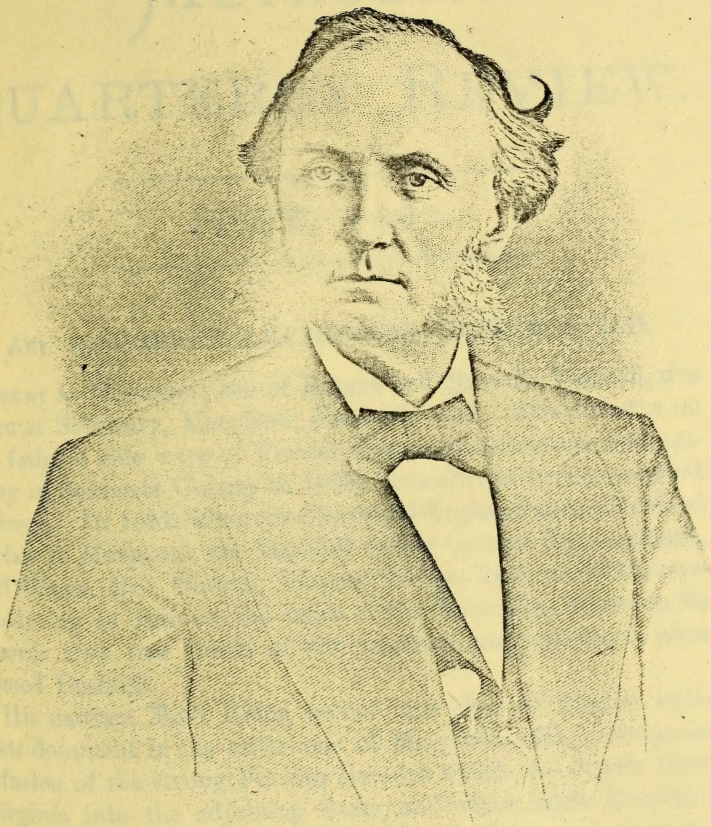

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1883.

ART. I.—ROBERT LAURENSON DASHIELL, D.D.

ROBERT L. DASHIELL, son of Robert and Mary R. Dashiell, was born at Salisbury, Maryland, June 25, 1825. His ancestry on his father's side were of French Huguenot extraction, and, settling in Somerset County in 1665, have always been prominent citizens. In 1691, when the Church of England was established by law in Maryland, the Dashiell family became Episcopalians, and Green Hill Church, Stepney Parish, built in 1733, now moldering in ruin on the bank of the Wicomico, shows on its records that two thirds of the wardens and vestrymen were named Dashiell.

His mother, Mary Rider, was of that class of English colonists dominant in the settlement of Maryland, with, perhaps, an infusion of the strong Puritan element which was driven from Virginia into the adjoining State, and which made Maryland somewhat like New England in blood, ideas, and religion; although the economic conditions, such as the parceling of the land in vast plantations, tobacco-raising, and slave labor, gave the State a resemblance to the South.

Nowhere had Methodism a more auspicious beginning than in Delaware and Maryland. Particularly on the Eastern Shore it found a clear field among a fine population, chiefly English and Scotch, free from Roman Catholic influence. In ministry and laity, Methodism in this section was fortunate. Strawbridge, Freeborn Garrettson, Asbury, Coke, and a grand host

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who came after, laid foundations upon which rose a Church built of the best elements of an excellent population, including many influential families like the Goughs, Bassetts, Whites, and Barretts, whose opulence and social position "gave material strength to the Church, while their exemplary devotion helped to maintain its purity and power." The stateliest homes, like Perry Hall, which Coke calls "the most elegant house in the State," and the spacious and splendid Bassett mansion at Bohemia Manor, were homes, refuges, and preaching-places for the early ministers: and from the time of Governor Bassett, of Delaware, down to the days when Governor Hollyday Hicks held Maryland to the Union, in 1861, many governors, senators, judges, and prominent citizens of both States have been ardent Methodists. Quite equal to the high social rank of Methodism here was its spirituality and fruitfulness, in which quantity kept pace with quality. On the Peninsula it has been exceedingly productive from 1772, when Robert Williams founded the first society on the Eastern Shore, until now, when Methodism is estimated to have one third of the population, all other Churches together not having equal strength. A great array of ministers of strong character and talents this soil has produced. The first Society, formed by Strawbridge, of twelve or fifteen persons at Sam's Creek, early furnished five preachers. A single church in a small village has been known to send nine of its boys almost simultaneously into the itinerancy. The region which has reared such men as Bishop Emory, Lawrence M'Combs, Robert Seney—father of George I. Seney, Esq.—George Pickering, Ezekiel Cooper, Solomon Sharp, James Nichols, William Phoebus, Bishop Scott, B. H. Nadal, the two Dashiells, J. A. Roche, H. B. Ridgaway, Bishop Hurst, R. H. Pattison—father of Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania—and many others eminent in usefulness, may be justly proud of its sons.

When Freeborn Garrettson was preaching in a wood at Broad Creek, Sussex County, an aged couple, named Ryder, heard him, and invited him to their house at Quantico. He went, and, with this couple for a nucleus, formed the first Methodist Society in Somerset County, in 1778; since which, Lednum says, "there have been many valuable Methodists of the Ryder family about Quantico and Salisbury." These "dear old people," as Garrettson called them, living on a large

plantation on the Mantico, in a home of abundance, thrift, and religion, were the maternal great-grandparents of Robert L. Dashiell. Their house was a home and a church for Asbury and other early preachers, and Jesse Lee there baptized Dashiell's mother, whose life-long fidelity to early vows entitled her children to Hooker's benediction, "Blessed forever be that mother's child whose faith hath made him the child of God." Although Mary Rider married an Episcopalian, she maintained her devotion to her Church, so that her children were born into positively Methodist atmosphere.

In the spring of 1826, Rev. Lawrence Laurenson, then Presiding Elder of the lower district, old Philadelphia Conference, so captivated Robert Dashiell, as well as his wife, that their babe, about one year old, being named Robert for his father, was named Laurenson for the minister who baptized him, and who was one of the most eloquent and attractive of the preachers on the Peninsula. Around the early life of the boy thus baptized, the power of such men as Levi Scott, T. J. Thompson, Henry White, George G. Cookman, and Matthew Sorin shed its illumination.

"Larry," as he was called, had a genuine, full-blooded, frolicsome boyhood. He was amiable, handsome, jubilant, playful, irrepressible, but not addicted to vices of any kind; so full of pranks, that almost every mischievous thing was laid to his charge. Strong health, active mind, and exuberant spirits made him a leader among his comrades. He early showed a passion for public speaking, for which he found exciting occasions in political campaigns, notably that of 1840, when he figured as champion Whig stump-speaker among the boys of his village, pitted against a Democratic boy, named Collins. These two rallied the juvenile partisans of Salisbury, and hot debates sometimes passed from words to fisticuffs. This merry boyhood went on until he was fifteen, when all at once life exploded its great realities about him, and he stood startled, flushed, thinking fast, and feeling intensely, as one who hears suddenly close at hand the opening thunders of a battle. His father's failure in business, his own conversion, the return from college of his elder brother, John Huston, embodying to the eye and imagination of the boy the results and value of a collegiate education—these events ended boyhood for him, and brought

in the period when youth begins to reach for its resources and stretch consciously toward manhood and an earnest future.

His father, a man of integrity, had been prosperously engaged for years in mercantile business in Salisbury. John H. Dashiell, on graduating from Dickinson College, was elected Principal of the academy at Salisbury, and also taught a Sabbath-school class, of which his brother, Robert, was a member. The entire class was soon converted under the pastorate of Rev. James Hargis. Dashiell ever cherished the memory of his spiritual father, and in manhood told how Hargis patted him on the back as he wept at the altar, saying, "Pray on, Larry," until the work of renewal was done. Many years after, Dashiell, when college president, found opportunity to pay this debt by bringing to God James Hargis' son, then a student at Dickinson, now Rev. J. H. Hargis, of the Newark Conference.

Soon after his conversion "Larry" felt ambitious, in view of his father's situation, to be independent, and secured a position as teacher in a primary school. Six months' teaching resulted in one hundred and twenty dollars, and a desire for a college education. With his brother's assistance he was prepared for college by September, 1843. He desired to enter Sophomore, but being found rusty on some studies was taken on trial for three months. If in that time he could overtake the Sophomores, well; if not, he must fall back with the Freshmen. When Dr. Durbin read off the standing after the Christmas examination, Dashiell's name was highest among the Sophomores, and when, a few moments after, he met the president on the campus and asked if he might be admitted to the Sophomore class, Dr. Durbin, smiling, said, "I think we'll risk it." That first toilsome year in college he always looked back upon as the most important of his life in the formation of character. He records that his entrance at Dickinson marked the beginning of a completer religious life, and says: "From the commencement of college life I made punctuality in all religious and college duties the supreme rule. I was never absent from church, prayers, or recitation, unless sick or out of town."

He was popular with the faculty, and also with the students, among whom he went by the name of "*Dash.*" He was so poor that sometimes he fled out of one door as

washer-woman came in the other, because he had no money to pay her. At close of sophomore year, funds being entirely exhausted, he obtained leave of absence, and became assistant to his brother, then principal of Light-street Institute, Baltimore; in addition to which he taught a night-school. In April, 1845, he returned to Carlisle, and in July passed up as a senior.

In his last year Dashiell had no competitor but Daniel Devinney, and a close strife divided honors equally. Devinney, five years older than Dashiell, mature, extraordinary in brilliancy and strength, intensely ambitious and studious, splendid, sensitive, and sad, ran a bright but brief career, which ended painfully. With this intense student Dashiell held an even position. In the society hall and on the chapel platform he was accorded the palm without dispute. He was the champion orator of the Union Philosophical Society, and always drew a crowded audience. His best friend in college was Dr. Emory, who impressed him more profoundly than any one else, and for whom his admiration knew no bounds. His room-mate, now Judge Robinson, of the Court of Appeals at Annapolis, after thirty-six years has not lost a similar enthusiasm, for he writes: "Durbin, though not strictly speaking a scholarly man, was a great reader, and had a wonderful fund of information at command; but Emory was in every sense a much stronger man, with talents of the highest order, and but for his early death would have been one of the most distinguished men of the age."

Emory, bidding Dashiell farewell after graduation, said, "Robert, I am not a judge of duty for others, but my impression is that God has work for you in his Church. If you hear a voice calling you to preach, beware of disobeying it." In order to cancel his educational debt, the young graduate returned to his brother's Institute to teach, intending to go afterward into law and politics: but the parting words of Emory abode with him, and were re-enforced by Rev. L. F. Morgan and Rev. James Allen, until one morning he came down early into the library and said to his brother, who had insisted on his studying law: "I have spent a sleepless night in prayer, and my conviction is that it is my duty to preach the Gospel. Woe is me if I preach not." This conviction he followed without delay. From Baltimore, about this time, three notable young men set out upon itinerant life: Otis H.

Tiffany, being a year in advance of the other two, and Alfred Cookman joining the Philadelphia, in the spring of 1848, when Robert L. Dashiell entered the Baltimore, Conference.

One sunny April morning young Dashiell mounted his pony, "Harry Clay," and rode from home to his first appointment, West River Circuit. When but a week an itinerant he writes in his journal, "One prayer I shall put up daily—Lord, make me a good pastor rather than a brilliant preacher;" yet he seems to relish preaching, for before he has been a month on the circuit he records that, one morning at "Friendship" Church, he preached an hour and a quarter. In 1850 he was sent to Loudoun Circuit, one of the most wealthy and cultured of rural sections, and, down to its desolation by the war, the story of his eloquence and unequaled popularity could be heard anywhere on the circuit. In 1852 he was appointed to Union Chapel, in the city of Washington, where large audiences and a considerable revival marked his pastorate. The charge prospered abundantly. In 1854 he went to Wesley Chapel, Washington, as assistant to Rev. James H. Brown, devoting himself mainly to a new enterprise on Capitol Hill, which dedicated its edifice, "Waugh Chapel," before the close of his term. While in Washington, he met, received into the Church, and married Miss Mary J. Hanly, who now survives him, with three daughters and a son. The reports of his Washington pastorates are enthusiastic. In 1856 he was sent to Baltimore as one of four ministers on the "City Station," comprising four churches, Light St., Eutaw St., Wesley and Spring Garden chapels. The four men rotated among the four churches. Divided labors and responsibilities did not work well. The personal magnetism of one man could not obtain much hold on thirteen hundred members operated upon continually by three others. The next two years Dashiell was at Charles St., following B. F. Brooke and a great revival. Finding prosperity in full tide, he increased it, and the church became the strongest in Baltimore.

In the summer of 1857, a boyhood friend, now Judge Irving, of the Maryland Court of Appeals, then residing in Cincinnati, happening to be in Baltimore over Sunday, went in the morning to hear Dashiell preach. He found the house crowded, with aisles full of benches and chairs. Notwithstanding his old friend was in a remote part of the house, the preacher

spied him, and as he closed his sermon, called on Irving to pray, saying, as the congregation was kneeling, "God converted us at the same time and has kept us faithful, you practicing your profession in a distant city and me preaching his everlasting Gospel." This introduction, added to the unexpected call to pray, came near proving too much for the astonished lawyer. After twelve years in the Baltimore Conference, during which he attained first rank as pastor and preacher, he was transferred in 1860 to the Newark Conference, to occupy the pulpit of Central Church, Newark, one of the most cathedral-like buildings in Methodism, and which is still unsurpassed in the pure Gothic stateliness of its interior. Both church and pastor were in the glow and vigor of young life. A pastorate highly successful in all respects resulted. Then followed two good years at Trinity Church, Jersey City, during which he was instrumental in founding the Children's Home for the Education of Indigent Children in that city.

In 1864 he returned to Newark as pastor of St. Paul's Church. The industries of the city were paralyzed by the war. The church had small congregations, was in debt twenty-one thousand dollars, and sorely depressed. He addressed himself at once to the debt, and in seven months the whole amount was raised. In the winter about one hundred were added to the church, many of whom are now its most active members. His three years at St. Paul's opened a new era for the church, and two pastorates in Newark gave him an honored name and wide influence among its citizens. In 1867 he became pastor at Orange, N. J. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him simultaneously by Rutgers College and Wesleyan University. On Sept. 8, 1868, he was chosen President of Dickinson College, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Dr. H. M. Johnson.

The situation of Dickinson at this time was critical, and required a president of peculiar qualities. He must give promise of being able to regain for the institution its lost constituency. His history and affiliations must be such as to propitiate both Northern and Southern sentiment. These necessities asked for a man from the border who might be in himself a bond of union. Dashiell, whose life had been divided between Maryland and New Jersey, and whose influence was thus outlying in both directions, suited Dickinson's need. The presidency

must have a man of wide access to the general public and to men of influence and wealth. Such considerations of policy largely determined the selection and outlined the work of the new man. Dr. Dashiell went to Carlisle in the prime of his manhood, with a successful record and a wide acquaintanceship, to undertake a difficult task. The affairs of the college were at a low ebb. It had suffered immensely from the war. In *ante-bellum* days the pro-slavery element among trustees and students had alienated Northern sympathy; the war cut off all patronage from the South; and the college, unsupported by either, was in imminent peril of sinking forever. The speech of welcome made to him in behalf of trustees and faculty said, "Your old mother, Dickinson, for some years has been struggling along with palsied limbs in poverty and neglect. One who came before you to steady her tottering steps sank under the burden and we buried him. Put your strong arm around her and hold her up."

To this not over-cheerful address the new President responded in happiest vein. His first words were to the "young gentlemen," whom he told with winning lightsomeness and felicitous witchery of expression how, when aroused that morning by the familiar tones of the old college bell, he had seemed to awake to one of his own student days, and was on the point of calling his chum, when he remembered that student-life was twenty-two years gone, and far different days had come. Then, turning to his associates of the faculty, he spoke reverently and touchingly of Emory, and invoked that the mantle of that illustrious model might fall on him. A member of the faculty writes, "With a heart full of kindly instincts, at once dignified and affable, quick and skilled in knowledge of human nature, intelligent and prompt as an officer in the dispatch of his proper business, he brought high qualities to his office."

Bending his energies promptly to the scanty and urgent situation, he did much to rehabilitate the fortunes of his *alma mater*. With fine executive abilities he gave faithful attention to details. He raised funds for extensive repairs and improvements to college buildings. From Saturday to Monday he was usually away, spending Sundays in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburg, and elsewhere, preaching and seeking to gain friends, funds, and students for the institution.

The rest of the week he devoted closely to the internal work of the college. The number of students gradually increased, and in his last year more entered than in any year of his or the previous presidency. He made every effort to stimulate interest in college life. The citizens were invited to weekly open-air concerts on the campus during the appropriate season. The custom of planting class-trees for the beautifying of the grounds was revived. Half-holiday excursions to the springs, caves, and spurs of the Blue Ridge mountains were encouraged. He organized the poorer students into a club, the table of which he kept largely supplied by mysterious arrivals of provisions from Philadelphia and Baltimore, reducing board to a mere trifle. Sick students, rich and poor, were fed from the president's own table. He strove to keep alive among the students a high sentiment of manhood, and to work that sentiment upon the side of college regulations. In this he so far succeeded that it was considered "a shame to lie to Dr. Larry."

Instead of putting college societies under ban, he became their patron and made them arms of power to his administration, holding each fraternity responsible for the honor of its members, and calling the attention of the best men in each to the misdoings of any, that it might protect itself from the disgrace of having its members disciplined. He acted the part of a pastor to the students, visiting, conversing, and sympathizing with them. In his inaugural address he told them that while he came as a college officer, he came as a personal friend to every one, and thenceforth every student knew that if he needed a friend he would find one in the president.

Dashiell inclined more to kindness than to discipline. He has been known to conceal a young man's misdeeds from the faculty, laboring secretly meanwhile to win the misdoer to amendment; saying to himself, "I am going to save that boy, law or no law." When the martinets of the faculty remonstrated against some stretch of kindness which they thought relaxed unwisely the discipline of the college, he would say, "Well, the pastor got the better of the president." Yet his government did not expose itself to contempt. College rebellions ended in the triumph of authority. The Sophomore and Freshman classes combined against a member of the faculty, and were suspended. On Saturday morning the president, after his

chapel prayer, began his remarks with the quotation, "Of law there can no less be acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, and her voice the harmony of the world." Then followed a clear statement of the difficulty and of the faculty's action. The two classes were given until Monday morning to surrender or go home, and were bidden to retire with the sententious remark, "Young gentlemen, empty benches can be refilled, but life is too short for the recovery of lost dignity." The next morning Dr. Dashiell preached an Easter sermon in Emory Chapel, and not one of the college rebels was missing from the service, under which few were unmoved. The rebellion vanished between Saturday and Monday.

The genial president was not averse to the students' favorite maxim, *Dulce est desipere in loco*, and on occasion joined in college mirth. At one time there was irregularity in the ringing of the college bell, and Dr. Dashiell remarked to one of the Seniors that the old colored janitor evidently needed a new watch. Upon this hint a watch was provided by the Seniors, and the president's permission secured for a public presentation after elocutionary exercises in the hall. The "Major," as he was called, from having been a servant, in the Southern army, to General Joseph E. Johnston, was meanwhile privately drilled in a speech, but without being informed of the nature of the occasion. At the close of the elocutionary hour the faculty dropped in, the Major was summoned, and, having been solemnly arraigned by a chosen Senior for failing to observe schedule time, was presented with a watch warranted to regulate his bell-ringing. Thereupon Dr. Dashiell, supposing the ceremonies ended, was about to bow the sable recipient out, when the Major broke forth in a vociferous speech to the professors: "Learned literatuses, de perihelion am in de ascendin' node, and wen you see de great Jubiter comin' ober de mountin ridge, riding on a jack wid ears on him like a terbacer plant, den you may say, Sic semper tyraliter. Literatuses vale, iterim vale! Io triomphe!" In the laughter which followed this deliverance nobody joined more heartily than the president.

Dashiell's intercourse with the Board of Trustees was manly and frank, and his reports and recommendations clear-sighted and business-like. Teaching was not his delight, and probably there was not an hour of his presidency when he would not

rather preach a sermon than hear a recitation. But if not an eminently learned and accurate scholar, he had resources more needful to the post he was called to fill. Upon this point one of his students quotes words which are accredited to Lord Ashburton: "As in choosing the builder of my house I do not select the man who has the most materials in his yard, but by reference to his skill, ingenuity, and taste; so also, in testing an orator or teacher, I satisfy myself that they fulfill the comparatively easy condition of possessing sufficient materials of knowledge with which to work, and then I look to those high and noble qualities which are the characteristics of their peculiar calling. There were hundreds in Athens who knew more than Demosthenes, many at Rome who knew more than Cicero; yet there was but one Demosthenes and one Cicero."

Notwithstanding the new president's determined assault all along the line of obstacles and embarrassments, difficulties apparently insuperable remained in the way of success. It was necessary to attract attention and attendance upon Dickinson, to restore alienated sympathies, and to bridge chasms of indifference which threatened to isolate the college and leave it to its fate. But there was great difficulty in drawing students. Carlisle was off main lines of travel, up a valley road, remote from cities and centers. This was an obstacle, also, to bringing visitors, at Commencement or any other time, to see the college and its needs. The institution was poor, the faculty inharmonious.*

Against the adverse situation Dashiell labored earnestly for two years, and then became convinced that success, if possible at all, could only come by long, disheartening toil. He felt that life was too short for him to wait a dozen weary years for a slow and dubious result. In the latter part of his presidency his desires went out longingly for some more congenial and satisfactory work. Although this was his conclusion, it is the opinion of qualified judges that he might have won full

* It is pleasant to remark that this is no longer so, and that Dickinson College comes to its centennial with favorably altered prospects, a harmonious administration, and an awakening interest in the college among friends of education; while the completion of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, connecting with the Cumberland Valley Road at Hagerstown, makes it the uniting link between the system of roads west and south of the Susquehanna, and the eastern and northern system which centers at Harrisburg; Carlisle being thus put on a trunk line and made accessible from all the territory on which Dickinson may properly hope to draw.

success. A trustee says, "Notwithstanding his chief gifts were for the pulpit and platform, he would have made a first-class success as president if he had consecrated his life to it." A member of his faculty writes: "Could he have changed some of his aims, put on more of the scholastic habit, and devoted himself solely to building up the college, he would have done a splendid work for education, for the Church, and for fame." It had been hoped that he might make the restoration of Dickinson his life-work. In Methodist history such hopes, often cherished, have been seldom realized. He followed the course which has been the rule in our educational institutions, and which is fostered by the customary action of our Church. He held the presidency of Dickinson less than four years, and, resigning early in 1872, was made Presiding Elder of Jersey City District.

The General Conference of 1872 was remarkable for two things: the first participation of lay delegates, and the number of men elected to offices new to them. Eight new bishops, three new missionary secretaries, two new book agents, and several new editors were chosen. Robert L. Dashiell, John M. Reed, and Thomas M. Eddy were elected Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society. This office suited Dr. Dashiell's tastes and gifts, and fitted his previous training as capital fits column, although all its duties were not equally congenial to him. His qualities were at their best in its public work. He did the office-work faithfully, but it was sometimes irksome. He would let it accumulate, and then fly at it and clear it off with marvelous rapidity. He was too mettlesome to be a natural plodder. His associate, Dr. Reid, says: "He had almost irresistible power to enlist others in a cause, and could command the time, influence, and means of men as very few can." He managed with admirable tact the interests intrusted to him, had large influence in all missionary councils, and knew how to state a case so as to win the utmost in its behalf. An accomplished pleader, he brought to the office a wide reputation for money-raising ability. Shrewd business men admired his consummate skill, amounting to genius, in such matters. He gave especial attention to legacies. Going from the office-desk to the Conferences, he was a glowing messenger, thrilling the Church with latest news of toil,

trial, and triumph in missionary fields, and interceding mightily for heathendom. The Conferences of the land hold vivid recollections of his magnetic and magnificent appeals. Judge Fancher says: "His efficiency in the secretaryship was unsurpassed. Largely through his device and foresight such measures were adopted that all our missions were active, bold advances were made, and the missionary achievements under his supervision mark an era in the progress of Christianity." In 1878 he made, with Bishop Merrill, a tour of examination among our missions in Mexico. If this summary account seems a meager treatment of the best eight years of his life, it is from no dearth of facts in that laborious and fruitful period; but because an attempt to collect details would be like taking a census of the Church.

After this review of the history and work of his life, some presentation of personal characteristics may properly follow.

Dr. Dashiell was eminently formed and furnished for the pulpit and platform. Six feet high, erect and symmetrical, with blue eyes, straight brown hair, ruddy complexion, and frank, earnest face; with a handsome, impressive, winning presence, the impersonation of ease and manly grace; with a deep, rich, singularly pervasive voice, quivering in tender pathos or swelling in indignant outburst or passionate appeal, he charmed audiences, and held them with a magnetic spell. Often the copious tide of his incandescent eloquence flowed like a stream of oil on fire. He read an audience instinctively, and made the impassive responsive. He took liberties with customary proprieties, even before cultivated congregations, in a way that would have imperiled the influence of almost any other man. His blithe wit played with assemblies "as a fresh wind provokes the sea to laughter," yet left his dignity secure upon their respect, "as well placed as a castle set upon a mountain." In the midst of the play he turned on them suddenly an overwhelming tide of pathos and solemn power, and when he "preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell" he "bore his great commission in his look." It has been said of Dr. Pusey's sermons, "They are the voice of one crying in the cloister." Few sermons had less of the cloister than Dashiell's. The cloisters he paced were the homes where men dwell, and the places where they toil and strive, the highways of busy life.

His preaching cried up and down the noisy and beaten shore of man's work and woe and sin. Along that thronged surf-shaken beach, alive with commerce, strewn with wrecks, where ventures are putting forth and cargoes coming in, his voice sounded, and he kept watch like a life-patrol.

The Scotch preacher, Dr. James Hamilton, digested the results of his manifold reading into a set of volumes, entitled "Bibline; or, Book-Essence," much of which he used as sermon material, greatly to the weariness of the plainer part of his congregation. In Dashiell's sermons there was little "Bibline," much *Vitaline*, rather, if one may coin the correspondent word. Dr. Erastus Wentworth once criticised a sermon as spoiled by "too much Minerva." Even when Dashiell was college president there was no Minerva in his preaching.

> "His luxury supreme
> And his chief glory were the Gospel theme:
> There he was copious as old Greece or Rome;
> His happy eloquence seemed there at home."

Whipple, contrasting Webster and Choate, calls the former an "out-of-doors man," and the latter an "indoors man." One did his thinking largely in the open air, the other in his library. Webster was at home with "the plain, good sense of average mankind," and spoke with every-day ease; Choate fed his fires in secret and burst forth in a blaze of eloquence which had been wrought up intensely in solitude. In the sense of this comparison, Dashiell was an "out-of-doors man." To a parishioner who once queried when he prepared his sermons, he answered, "I get up sermons on the street." In his preaching there was no violence or strain, yet no lack of force. He told a young minister, who seemed to lack fire, that he needed a diet of blood and gunpowder. He was proverbially the friend of young men, having a winsome talent for enlisting them. In every pastorate he delivered frequent sermons especially to them, by which many were turned to righteousness. "Is the young man, Absalom, safe?" was one of his favorite texts. Young men whom he had befriended, rescued, and inspired, sat broken-hearted by his bedside in his last illness, holding his wasted hands and kissing them reverently with tears.

A loyal son of the Church, to which he devoted his all, he championed ardently the doctrines and usages of Methodism.

He preferred, "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy," to what he called the "ungodly music" which would take possession of some of our sanctuaries. His work was done so easily that he seemed to have power in reserve, and made the impression that he was banking on large resources and nowise pressed by the occasion. Having great facility of thought and expression he largely relied on this power, which was at once his advantage and his danger. The consciousness of these rare gifts did not stimulate to hard study, but led him to leave to the moment what men less facile, and less sure of themselves, must have put careful preparation upon. Although his mind was active and fertile, he put little on paper. Writing was seldom absolutely necessary to him, because he could carry what he needed in his mind; and finding the drudgery of the pen irksome he wrote only when it was necessary.

Stirring activity suited him. The throne of his power was set in public; his rule was that of presence; his scepter, personal touch. By face-to-face word he won, and conquered by direct contact. There was that in him which was hard to resist. Able to do with men what few would dare, and fewer successfully attempt, he could ride in upon them with a dash in such courteous manner that there was no rudeness; before they had time to lift drawbridge or let portcullis fall he was prancing in the castle's court without asking leave, at ease in his saddle, at home with his surroundings, and gracious. If he saw fit to come ashore no reserve could keep him off, even when suspicion stationed its sentinels and hostility mounted its guns. He knew how to run the blockade, elude the guards, and land his troops with stores and ammunition to occupy the town. A genial spirit, with courtly suavity of manner, made him agreeable. Keen penetration gave him the art of quick inference and thorough tact. He knew like a skilled anatomist where the heart was located, could touch it at will, and tell as by a stethoscopic sense how it was beating. The ideal and active well blended, an ardent poetic temperament, and practical executive sense, with experience of affairs, made him an adroit manager and an inspiring leader. He saw the bright side of things, kindled others with his courageous faith, shed a glow about him which melted indifference, inspired timidity with confidence, and disarmed opposition. With a masculine con-

tempt for shams and nonsense, hating cant and hypocrisy, he neither hid what he was, nor pretended to be what he was not. Heart, home, sorrows, ambitions, and all his affairs were open. Concealment was unnatural to him; indeed, he erred in the opposite extreme. In his private business affairs he was unsuccessful, easily beguiled, and by believing every body suffered loss.

He was warm-blooded, humane, lavish in his friendships, magnanimous to rivals, and forgiving to enemies, saying often, "Life is too short to carry bitterness in our hearts. Keep the wheat, and let the chaff go; cherish the good, and forget the evil." Strength, time, and substance were poured out for his brethren as if there were no limit to his resources. There was no stint in his willingness to help every body, and little caution in his promising. The impulse of ready consent, meeting every appeal for aid, did not stop to calculate coolly the limits of possibility; and thus, through over-generosity, undertaking more than circumstances finally permitted, he sometimes failed to make all connections. A distinguished judge writes: "He had more warm friends than any man I ever knew, and was as true as steel, never failing to do his utmost for a friend when opportunity offered." When, on his sick-bed, the account of Chancellor Runyon's re-appointment and confirmation was read to him, he joyously cried "Halleluiah."

He found ready access to men of the world, and turned many of them to Christ. The matters which he touched influentially are known to be various. Without turning aside to politics, he wielded, silently, considerable political control through personal influence with those who ruled civil affairs. Men in power consulted his sagacious judgment, and some owed official position to his influence. A secular paper, politically opposed to him, said: "Dr. Dashiell was not a person of ordinary mold; he did not walk after a set fashion or talk by line and plummet. He would have made his mark in any station of life; and where he did make it, it is indelible. He was a perfect example of restless, impulsive American energy; of that tireless power which transforms wildernesses, builds cities, and keeps the human heart on fire. He was more than a preacher, every-where sought for and admired; he had more statesman-like qualities than nine-tenths of the men who make statesmanship a profession. He took a living interest in all that

belonged to his country, its material, political, and moral progress. A thorough, comprehensive, large-souled, educated, common-sense man of the times was Dr. Dashiell."

In October, 1861, Gilbert Haven left his army chaplaincy and took charge of Clinton-street Church, Newark. Soon after, in a letter to a friend, he wrote: "A fine Gothic church is close beside mine, with a popular preacher who draws on this greatly. I shall be thankful if I keep my folks at home."

This popular preacher was Dashiell, who hospitably took the wifeless, homeless Haven to his heart and home, a weekly guest at his table. The inflexible abolitionist and the Maryland democrat, disputing and fraternizing with belligerent good-will, were ever after close friends, the heat and blows of debate only welding intimacy. Ardent and genial, as much alike in nature as different in opinions, they disagreed sharply without animosity. Familiar as boys, Dashiell would take him by the arm and say, "Come, old Gilt-edge, you must go home with me." The Yankee chaplain at Dashiell's table had to contend also with his Southern hostess, with whom he would insist on discussing such matters as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry. Twenty years after, on the day of Haven's funeral, Dashiell, on his bed of suffering, said: "Haven and my wife used to quarrel dreadfully, and they quarreled until they became warm friends." The last vote of this out-spoken democrat was straight Republican. The democracy of Newark had bought the German vote by pledging itself for an open Sunday of saloons and carousing. As he went to the polls his democratic friends held out their party ballot. He said, "No, I thank you! You have sold me out, but you cannot deliver me."

Dr. Dashiell was a right royal lover of his wife and children. Home was the dear center of the world. To it his thoughts turned, of it he always talked, no matter how far away duty led him. The story of his family life, most cheery, considerate, unselfish, and affectionate, is not for these pages. One of the inmates of his home was "Mammy," his negro nurse, who, as she was proud of saying, "taught him to walk." In his infancy Hetty had been hired of her mistress by his mother. Long after, when he was in the ministry, he paid, at her entreaty and with the sanction of Bishop Ames, five hundred dollars to save her from being sold away. From

that time she lived in his family and bore herself as if she owned it. Toward her he showed gentle consideration, never going away without calling "Good-bye, Hetty," and waiting to shake hands. Her boast to his children was, "Your father never give me a unrespectful word in his life." In dealing with this crotchety character much patience and tact were required. When the children gave her offense she would loftily repel all overtures until her idolized "Friend" came in to restore peace. Haven once, in his Episcopal days, in taking leave of the family, extended his hand first to old Mammy, who drew back with great dignity and said, in a tone of reproof, "Mrs. Dashiell first, Bishop." Dashiell's laugh at the repulsed dignitary rang through the house. Hetty was heart-broken over the sufferings which ended her friend's life, and would not witness his dying. As soon as he was gone she came into the room, extended her hands above his body, and said, with a choking voice, "Farewell, Doctor! You've been a good friend to me. I'll meet you before the throne." Being told of a sermon in which the minister had said, "God never calls one of his children from earth unless he has work for him elsewhere," she broke out, indignantly, "Humph! If dat's de way, Miss Mary, I don't think much of it. If de Doctor, after all de runnin' and wearin' out his poor body he done here, aint got no rest now, I don't think much of it." She had her own notion of what use "de Lord" might properly make of "de Doctor;" it was her opinion that he would be "de strong-lunged angel to stand wid one foot on de land and de other on de sea to blow de trumpet." She survived him less than a year. Her name is cut upon his monument. Her body lies at his feet on the bank of the Passaic.

Dr. Dashiell's last public utterance in the East was in Newark at the funeral of his friend, Cornelius Walsh. That night, pale and worn with two weeks of illness, he started for the Northwest. His route was almost the same as the last trip of his colleague, Dr. Eddy. In fourteen days he traveled three thousand miles, delivered fourteen sermons and addresses, and was shaken up in a railroad collision. His last sermon was at Lincoln, Nebraska. He reached home sick, October 9, and went through his duties with the General Missionary Committee, in its annual meeting, with pallid, pain-stricken face and

tremulous hands, yet alert and vigilant as ever. He was seen at the front of action until the ambulance carried him off the field. Near the close of that annual meeting some statement sprung him, and he flashed into a burning, brilliant speech of ten minutes, the last blaze of dying fires in a man who had no chance for life. The meeting over, he, as well as Bishop Haven—two brave, brotherly men—went home to die of rankling disease. The week after the adjournment of the committee, Dashiell went on Monday to the Presbyterian Hospital for a surgical examination. It was made in the afternoon, revealed intestinal cancer, and indicated that disease had gone too far for removal by an operation; but, in the absence of Dr. Van Buren, it was necessary to remain till next day for his opinion. The night of suspense was horrible. With doom half-pronounced he must wait till the morrow for sentence to be made decisive and complete. Left to themselves in strange and ghastly surroundings, that hospital, as night settled down, was to him and his wife a very Golgotha. About eight in the evening the door opened, and, to their grateful surprise, there stood Bishop Haven, his broad form filling the door-way as he tossed in his friendly greeting, "Well, old fellow, they have you where they want to get me," meaning in the surgeons' hands. "I had an hour before leaving for Boston and wanted to spend it with you." When his time had elapsed, Haven said "Good-bye," and was apparently going, when suddenly he dropped on his knees and prayed for ten minutes, pouring out his soul for his friend. Dashiell was greatly affected. The bright Bishop hastened away, in pain and weakness, to lay himself on his own death-bed and find the gates of heaven two months before his friend. The only reading Dashiell did during his illness was George Lansing Taylor's elegy on Haven. "The warrior is at rest. I wonder how long I must wait," said the slowly dying Missionary Secretary when he learned that his heroic brother had gone before him. Very soon the comrades greeted beyond the battle-fields, hanging their dinted shields upon the temple walls where the holy light of victory falls for evermore.

Dr. Dashiell astonished his friends by his fortitude in suffering. He endured the trying operation of colotomy, which, however, availed little. When he laid himself on the table, the surgeon said, as he administered the anæsthetic, "Now,

Doctor, you must lose sight of us for a little while." "I know it," he replied, "but my heavenly Father will not for a moment lose sight of me."

Although arrested suddenly in the fullness of power, usefulness, and hope, he felt no shock of alarm or dismay, but accepted with resignation the will of God. Yet he relinquished only with obstinate reluctance the hope that he might recover sufficiently to do a little more work. He said, "If I might get up from this sick-bed, I could preach better than I ever did. I may never again go down the long furrow with the reapers, but I would like to throw in my sickle with the gleaners." His sheaves were all in. Nothing remained for him on earth but suffering, mitigated by the ministry of loving hands, the practical sympathy of a cordon of friends doing all in their power to relieve him from earthly anxieties, and the great grace of God. Tormented with pain, he spoke of the Divine goodness with grateful tears, and rebuked every murmur uttered in his presence. Often when distress was severest he quoted,

> "Courage, my soul, thy bitter cross,
> In every trial here,
> Shall bear thee to thy heaven above,
> But shall not enter there."

His first words almost every morning during his illness were, "Bless the Lord, O my soul!" Looking toward eternity, he said, "The hill-tops beyond are gilded with glory. The shadows are all here." He hated death with the strong instinct of a vital man, but loved the Lord of life. The Church watched his dying for four weary months, and when, in his fifty-fifth year, in the dusk of evening on the 8th of March, 1880, quietly as a tired child falls asleep, he crossed the shaded frontier into the better life, Methodism from ocean to ocean, and from the St. Lawrence to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, was smitten with a sense of loss. At his funeral, held in St. Paul's Church, Newark, in a driving snow-storm, and attended by a great multitude, addresses were delivered by Bishop Simpson and Secretary Reid, the sole survivor in the missionary office. Of him Dr. Reid has said: "All parts of his nature conspired to make him a brilliant character. The ends of the earth weep for him, for the monuments of his toil are in all lands."

Art. II.—REMARKABLE PROBLEMS OF OUR POPULATION.

Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Paris. 1881, 1882.

The subject we are about to discuss touches our national egotism; and have we not, long ago, had enough of that? Unquestionably the proverbial boastfulness of Americans has had some considerable justification; they had great "fathers," and have been accustomed to see natural grandeurs all around them—great lakes and rivers; great mountains, rich in mines; and great prairies, cornfields for the bread of the world. The great destiny of the country became a sort of intuition in their national consciousness. They are not, also, to be contemned, if not admired, for the pluckiness of their self-assertion at a time when Europe treated them only with supercilious sarcasm, and her Trollopes, Fidlers, and Dickenses caricatured them before the Old World. All this, however, has now changed; Europe is now dependent largely on their bread and cheese, their beef and pork; their inventions and manufactures are seen by the American traveler in the shops of all her great cities; he travels her lakes and rivers in the steam-boat, finds the telephone in her principal towns, and telegraph-wires along her highways, and hears the murmur of the "sewing-machine" through the cottage windows of the obscure villages of the Hartz and Alps. American men of science are now recognized as authorities by the best scientific authorities of Europe. The works of American poets and novelists are welcomed by her best families; and American historians are standards on the shelves of her libraries; some of them—like Irving, Ticknor, Prescott, and Motley—are esteemed as her best authorities on questions of her own history. If Europe still holds Canada and Australia somewhat aloof, as secondary or provincial sections of the civilized world, she no longer thus disparages the United States. She now admits us as equals to the full comity of her greatest states. She has gone further, and has begun to treat us with rather flattering complacency. We may, then, well enough abate our old boastfulness, and trust our reputation to her good sense. But on a subject like that we are about to present it is impossible to write without

apparent egotism. Fortunately for us, however, we are to be backed by European authority, and are to reproduce chiefly European opinions. After this apologetic introduction (which we acknowledge to be somewhat equivocal) we crave permission to go through our discussion without wasting our limited space—entirely too brief for the subject—in modest qualifications.

The "Bulletin" of the Geographical Society of Paris has lately given some interesting papers on the population of the United States, from the pen of M. L. Simonin, who is, apparently, a French *savant* sojourning among us, and who has made the statistics of our last census a special study. M. Simonin commends strongly the work of our "Bureau of Statistics" at Washington, approving particularly the long time (so impatiently resented by ourselves) which it spends in elaborating its important problems—problems the most surprising, as he thinks, and the most suggestive of economic and social lessons, ever presented in the official documents of nations. Our last census he pronounces "the most remarkable in its geographical, economic, and moral phenomena that has ever been made." His discussions of its principal results have excited much curiosity and no little wonder among French statisticians; and some quite novel questions and problems have been addressed to him, in reply, by his *confrères* of the Paris *Société de Geographie.* It seems that Europe is beginning to perceive that the New World is about to exercise a really revolutionary influence on the commercial, political, and social destinies of the Old, if not, indeed, of the entire world.

The facts which indicate this coming revolution are incontestable, but, at first view, they seem incredible to European thinkers. They are marvels in the social evolution of our times, and French thinkers, especially, are indisposed to accredit marvels. M. Simonin, however, confronts them with the indisputable numerical proofs; they speak for themselves, and admit, as he thinks, of no evasion.

Some of his deductions may well startle Americans themselves, sanguine and boastful though we usually be. We propose to review a few of them, including some which his formula implies, but which he has not discussed.

Among the most remarkable considerations which his papers suggest are the "Center of Population," the rate of its move-

ment westward, the time of the completion of this movement, the amount of our population at that period, and its comparative strength considered in respect to the population of Europe and to that of the whole earth.

The elements of such calculations must, of course, be various and difficult; there is much room for conjecture, and no little temptation to it, but there is a better than Dædalian escape from the Cretan labyrinth of the facts concerned; the clew through them is mathematical, and M. Simonin holds, with a steady hand, to that clew. For example, the ratio of the growth of our population has been so regular as almost to confirm Mr. Buckle's theory that even statistics are subject to exact law. We have been able to predict, with no little confidence, the aggregate result of the census of each decade for nearly a hundred years, for nearly the whole of our national history, notwithstanding all the contingencies which affect that result—political changes, wars with England, with Mexico, with ourselves; commercial revulsions, or "crises," nearly every fifteen or twenty years; variations in immigration, itself so affected by European political, military, and commercial contingencies. Nearly half a century ago Professor Tucker, of Harvard University, published calculations by which he estimated, in round numbers, our population for each decade down to the present time; his estimates for even the latest periods were singularly correct; he gave, for 1870, thirty-eight millions; it was thirty-eight and a half, notwithstanding the Mexican and Civil wars, the unexpected movements of European emigration, and, especially, the discovery of gold in California, which so much confounded those movements. For 1880 he gave fifty millions—the aggregate at which we usually state the last census. All his errors were short of the actual amounts officially reported; his formula was so correct that apparent errors in one decade were compensated in another, as the "perturbations" of the planets compensate one another and maintain the mathematical harmony of astronomical law.

We are all familiar with the phrase "Center of Population," but have a vague idea of its significance. M. Simonin admires the formula by which our statisticians have used the "*Grandes Statistiques*" of the Republic, during ninety years, for the ascertainment of this "great movement" of our population,

and the solution of the remarkable problems which it involves. He says:

> They suppose that the land of the United States is reduced to a plane surface, and that it has no weight, but that the men who are borne along on this surface have weight. They calculate the mean weight of these men at 70 kilogrammes. Now at New York, for example, there are to-day, in round numbers, say one million of inhabitants; it has thus a weight of 70 millions of kilogrammes. Philadelphia has, say 800,000 inhabitants, and therefore 56 millions of kilogrammes, and so on. Now all who have calculated centers of gravity in mechanics, all who have studied elementary statics, know perfectly that, with the definition here given, it is very easy to calculate what is called the center of gravity of population, or more simply the center of population, or more simply the center of population, at any given time. As the population began in the East, and was first dispersed along the Atlantic coast, it is evident that its center of gravity must be nearer the Atlantic than the Pacific; for where the inhabitants are fewest the arm of the lever must obviously be longest, and thus we arrive at the determination of a mathematical point which bears all the country in equilibrium, as on a pivot. It is this point that we name the center of population.

He traces it through ninety years. In 1790 it was 23 miles east of Baltimore; that is to say, on the Atlantic coast. In 1800 it was 18 miles west of Baltimore; it had advanced no less than 41 miles in a decade. In 1810 it was 40 miles north-west of Washington; it was still in Maryland, but on its frontier. In 1820 it was 16 miles to the north of Woodstock, and left Maryland for Virginia. In 1830 it was 19 miles south-west of Moorfield, in western Virginia; in 1840 it was still in Virginia, 16 miles south of Clarksburg; in 1850 it was 23 miles south-east of Rochersburg. It then left Virginia and entered Ohio; in 1860 it was 20 miles south of Chillicothe; in 1870 it was 48 miles north-east of Cincinnati, and at last we find it, in 1880, about 8 miles south-west of Cincinnati, still in Ohio, but near Kentucky, which it will enter by the next census. M. Simonin gives a map showing this line—the line of the march of civilization, in the wilderness of the New World, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. With very little deviation it keeps along the thirty-ninth parallel; it goes straight westward; the phrase, "'Westward the star of empire takes its way,' is not merely poetic," he remarks, "it is mathematical."

M. Simonin calculates, from these data, that the average advance westward of the center of population has been, since 1790, 50 miles per decade, or 5 miles a year. This is wonderful enough for the statistician, and still more suggestive to the philosopher and the poet, but there is another fact which M. Simonin does not mention, and which shows more impressively this "grand movement" of humanity in the New World. We must bear in mind that his calculations thus far refer only to the center, not to the vanguard and flanks of the movement. When Sir C. Lyell was traveling in this country, exploring its geology, more than forty years ago, he was surprised at the rapid outspread of the people as quite phenomenal in the history of the world. "In fifty years," he wrote, "the State of Ohio alone had about equaled in population all the population of European blood in all the vast regions conquered by Cortes and Pizarro, to say nothing of her superiority in wealth and civilization." But he witnessed a similar phenomenon every-where that he went; and, alluding to another distinguished foreigner who had passed over the country some years before his own visit, he says, "De Tocqueville calculated that along the border of the United States, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, extending a distance of 1,200 miles, as the bird flies, the whites advance every year at a mean rate of 17 miles, and he truly observes that there is a grandeur and solemnity in this gradual and continuous march of the European race toward the Rocky Mountains. He compares it to "a deluge of men rising unabatedly and daily driven onward by the hand of God." This was indeed a "grand march" of humanity, armed with the ax and the spade, advancing to the trumpet of destiny, felling the forests, planting the prairies, scaling the mountains, building school-houses, churches, and halls of justice, railroads, and canals—bearing with it the institutions and energies of Christian civilization and the completest liberties of man. But a phenomenon was to appear which these travelers could not have anticipated; they saw the center of population moving 50 miles a decade, the vanguard and flanks 17 miles a year: but events—especially the discovery of gold on the Pacific coast—were soon to interrupt the comparative regularity of the march, and vanguard and flanks, disregarding ordinary restrictions and centers of gravity, were

to break up, charging like cavalry on all prominent points, for the immediate subjugation of the great field, and pausing only before the waves of the Pacific.

But let us return to M. Simonin's figures. Having ascertained the rate of the movement of the center of population, he insists that his further calculations can be relied on, that the proofs are mathematical. The growth of nearly every great human interest in the United States, where political freedom allows the free action of natural causes, is normal and susceptible of exact statement. Accordingly, he proceeds to show how normal has been the progress of population for the successive decades of ninety years, and deduces therefrom the ratio of increase as the means of the solution of some still more striking problems respecting the future.

Making abundant allowance for contingencies, for variations in immigration, for losses by war, as in our civil struggle, he arrives at the conclusion as logically reliable that the population doubles in periods of from twenty-five to twenty-eight years. Twenty-five years have been usually assumed to be the necessary period. M. Simonin makes his calculations, therefore, on very safe grounds; and, taking what he calls the "magnificent labors of the Bureau of Statistics" as his data, he proceeds to determine a curious problem, namely, When shall the center of population complete its movement and "all the surface of the immense country be filled with inhabitants?" This we call a "curious problem;" to most of us Americans it is simply such, but to a European *savant* it is a profoundly interesting scientific *datum*. M. Simonin speaks of it as a "*grande année economique*" in the history of the world, and says that in "amusing" himself with his calculation of it, he "was startled at the fewness of the centuries necessary for the great consummation, and the formidable millions of men which will then throng the United States."

Reaffirming that the ratios of growth can be relied on, that "they have never failed one minute," he determines the period for what he calls the "complete population of the country" to be about three hundred years — at most three hundred and twenty—a period which, to us fast Americans, seems indefinitely distant, but which appears to a European as quite at hand. M. Simonin becomes emphatic on the subject. "Yes,

Messieurs," he exclaims to his French *confrères*, "hardly three hundred and twenty years are necessary for this result; only about that term separates us from the accession of Henry IV.! What, then, are three hundred years? We traverse this period through the lives of a few of our forefathers. In this period the United States will have completed their grand march westward, and, in the same time, will have filled with population all the prairies, all the West, all the coast of the Pacific."

Having determined, as he believes, this problem, M. Simonin faces another, namely, What will be the population of the Republic at this great consummation? The result is startling to him, and, indeed, must seem incredible to most of us; but before we approach it a hardly less striking, yet more credible, one presents itself; one which must affect profoundly the future of both the Old World and the New, and which we may properly enough here interpolate, though it requires us to deviate somewhat from M. Simonin's formula: When will the population of the Republic equal the present aggregate population of Europe?

The actual ratio of our increase will validly apply for at least one age of human life to come; M. Simonin thinks it will "for one or two ages;" immigration and the general prosperity of the country will, we can hardly doubt, go on at the present rate during the life-time of our youngest children; it is not improbable that they will go on, for that time, with increasing ratios. We have now a territory about equal to that of Europe. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax, when Speaker of the House of Representatives, citing official records at Washington, claimed for us some thousands of square miles more than the territory of Europe; but, be the difference more or less, it can hardly affect the present question. If we take, not M. Simonin's shortest term for the doubling of the population, which is the usually admitted term of twenty-five years, nor his longest term of twenty-eight years, but the intermediate term of twenty-seven years, our population will equal the actual population of all Europe in about seventy years. According to the Tables of Mortality there are some thousands of children now in their cradles at our firesides who will see that time.

The fact of such a result is, in itself, startling; the fact of its *proximity* renders it doubly startling. It will be, as it

were, to-morrow in the history of nations; and its inevitable consequences cannot fail to suggest grave anticipations to the statesmen and thinkers of both hemispheres.

What, it has been asked, would be the national consciousness of any one European people who should have a similar prospect? What of the Germans, for example, if they could calculate, with equal confidence, that within seventy years their flag will wave from the North Cape to Malta, from Lisbon to Moscow, over a population homogeneous in all vital respects—in their social institutions, their politics, their economic interests, and, mostly, in their blood—all speaking the same language, having perfect religious and civil liberty, with the best means of financial prosperity, of popular education, and of household comfort known on the earth?

An equivalent prospect is not only probable, but apparently certain, for the United States. It depends, of course, on the continued unity of the nation, but we will not doubt *that*, for the short period here given. Every patriotic motive increasingly guarantees that unity, and this grand prospect itself must tend to reinforce every such motive. Personal pride is usually a vice, but, in certain cases, it may be a virtue; national pride is always a virtue; it is an essential element of patriotism. Every American citizen must feel that this increasing glory of his country is reflected on himself and on his children. Whatever motive of discord (alleged to be justifiable or unjustifiable) may have heretofore endangered our unity, any citizen who would now abet intrigues which could defeat this great future, who could fire on the flag of his country, of such a country, is unworthy to have been born under its sky, unworthy of a grave in its soil. He is the enemy, not only of his country, but of the human race. Patriotism is, to be sure, a sentiment, but it need not be sentimentalism; for what are sentiments but heightened ideas, convictions of the heart as well as of the head, opinions incandescent! Every reasonable conviction, every intelligent opinion, respecting the interests of the country, or the self-interest of its citizens—and with us they are logically identical—demands the inviolability of the Union. The public conscience should never again allow it to be a subject of doubt. The one only serious peril to it has been extinguished. All the present and possible

interests of the nation are harmonious, not to say identical. The South, the Interior, the West, are rapidly becoming assimilated to the North and East, by manufactures and commerce. Georgia is becoming a southern Massachusetts. Distances and local isolations are mostly annihilated by the modern improvements in communication. Nearly all the remote States and Territories are, to-day, practically nearer the political center than the remote colonies were at the time of the organization of the Republic. One of our best scientific authorities has shown that the geography, the very topography, of the country forbids disunion.* Were the States of the Mississippi Valley to organize by themselves, they would impair their relations to their chief domestic markets; they would be wedged in between two great powers on the east and west, and would have as their own but one outlet to the seas, the mouth of the Mississippi. Were the South to secede, it would not only impair its relations to its best domestic markets, but it would provoke endless struggles with the West about the outlet of the Mississippi—a consideration which powerfully influenced the West in the Civil War. Were the Atlantic or the Pacific States to essay a separation from the Union, choosing, respectively, the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains as their natural boundaries, they would thereby not only impair their chief interior commercial resources in the valley of the Mississippi, but they would render themselves liable to the continual hostile reaction of the latter, hedged in, if not crushed in, between them. What an expense, too, in military provisions against one another would be implied by such divisions! The greatest feature on the face of the continent is the valley of the Mississippi. By its peculiar situation it has become a principal guarantee of the Union.

What in former times were considered to be the "natural boundaries" of nations—great rivers and mountain ranges—are no longer such, especially with us. The new means of communication to which we have alluded have obliterated these old barriers, and are miracles of our times, changing the face of the world. The philosopher must consider it a remarkable coincidence, the Christian thinker a remarkable providence, that these scientific miracles have been contemporaneous with the

* Professor Draper's "History of the Civil War."

history of the Republic. Watt's invention, applied to navigation by one of our own citizens, has not only rendered navigable, against their currents, the more than forty thousand miles of our navigable rivers, thereby opening the continent to emigration and commerce, and especially developing the valley of the Mississippi, but has woven a network of intercommunication and union over the surface of the Republic. Stephenson's later invention has done more; it has annulled the old "natural boundaries," so called, of States, has eliminated distances, has bound the Union in bands of iron; and Morse's invention, disregarding boundaries, distance, and time, causes speech to answer to speech from all the outposts of our wide-stretching, bountiful land.

We may assume, then, with no little confidence, that the Union will last, and that its growth of population will go on, at about its present rate, for the comparatively short period of the lifetime of our youngest children—for the little more than seventy years, which will bring it abreast of the present population of all Europe. Europe, of course, will meanwhile advance; but with its already overburdened population, its labor depressed by ours, and the continual drafts of emigration from it, to our advantage, its comparative growth will but slightly affect the relative power of the two great sections.

We may certainly pronounce this a revolution in the history of the civilized world. Its probable consequences present profoundly interesting problems for the consideration of thinkers, especially of statesmen, and most especially of European statesmen. What must be the reaction of the New World on the Old at that time? What the effect of this immense development of America on European industry, especially on European agriculture? What on European manufactures, on trade, on the balance of exchange? What on politics? What on war between the two sections? What will be the diplomatic influence of the New World, its moral, not to say its political, or military authority before Europe? In about eighty years the population of the Republic will, according to our formula, be more than seventy millions greater than the actual population of Europe; what can any European state, or any number of European states combined, then do in a belligerent dispute with the Republic? What even all Europe

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combined—if we consider the distance between them and their comparative resources?

The reaction of the New World upon the Old has been more or less continuous ever since the beginning of our national history; the more effective for being tacit rather than violent—in accordance with Washington's wise counsel never to have entangling relations with European states—the wisest maxim of foreign policy ever given to us, and which should never be abandoned. The first French Revolution is now considered, by historians, as the epoch of modern political history; for, in spite of its terrible enormities, it initiated an irrepressible revolution in European life; it dispelled most of the remains of feudalism, and nearly completed the unfinished work of Richelieu, this time in favor, not of monarchy, but of the people; it confuted forever the dogma of the "divine right" of kings, and broke down the traditional ecclesiasticism of Europe, which, notwithstanding its occasional sporadic revivals, has become practically obsolete. Naturally enough, then, European writers pronounce it the epoch of modern history; but their opinion may need to be somewhat revised. Historically considered, the American Revolution may more properly be pronounced that epoch. A very brief period intervened between the two revolutions, and the one initiated the other. Between the American peace, with the return of the French troops, (1783,) and the French Revolution (1789) there were but about six years. The Frenchmen who shared in our Revolution—and without whose aid, let us gratefully acknowledge, it would have seemed to have been next to impracticable—returned to the Old World mostly republicans. The character of the struggling colonists, and especially the character of Washington, gave moral dignity and force to their opinions, in the minds of these chivalric foreigners, and they went home with new hopes for their own country. The proximate occasion of the French Revolution was, unquestionably, a financial one; but this was more a condition than a cause of the great change. Political ideas gave the revolution its political and social character. These ideas had, indeed, been long fermenting in France, as they had been in America. They were current among the "philosophers," and even in the persiflage of the courtiers; but they were crude and lacked the

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practical common sense and high ethical character of the American politics. Rousseau had given them their most distinct expression, but with speculative extravagances at which the American patriots could only smile. His "*Contrat Social*" was the manual, the Bible of the French Revolutionists, and to no little extent, the source of their frightful errors and the failure of their cause—its temporary failure, for it has been irrepressible, and, after repeated revivals, stands to-day reinstated throughout France. Voltaire, who is usually esteemed the chief coadjutor in bringing on the revolution, was a monarchist, without political sympathy with the people, and contributed only to the influence of the revolution against ecclesiasticism. Lafayette became the embodiment of American politics before France, and the best hero of the revolution, its faithful representative after its collapse, till it again arose in 1830. A royalist historian—Bertrand de Moleville—who witnessed the revolution, admits all we here claim. He says: "The American war developed in France new germs of revolt. It afforded at once the example and the tactics; confused ideas of liberty, of independence, of democracy, fermented in all heads, and prepared a general explosion." Madame de Staël, who passed through the whole revolution, wrote, at its outbreak, to Gustavus III., of Sweden, attributing it to "the North American Revolution." Gustavus himself wrote to his ambassador at St. Petersburg "that it is an epidemic of popular effervescence—an epidemic which has had its real source in America, and is extending over France." Dumont, the friend and biographer of Mirabeau, and who wrote for him some of his most effective speeches, says that the "National Assembly began with the famous 'Declaration of the Rights of Man;' it was an American idea, and was regarded as a necessary preliminary." Dumont himself helped to write it. Lafayette introduced it in the Assembly. The first placards, on the walls of Paris, proposing a Republic, were written by Thomas Paine, returned from America, and signed by Duchâtelet, a noble man who had fought in the American army. The Parisian "philosophers," with Condorcet at their head, immediately avowed their republicanism, and Dumont says that "America appeared to them the model of good government, and it seemed easy to transplant into France the system of Federalism

The Duke of Montmorency, a representative of one of the oldest noble families of France, was one of our French soldiers, and it was he that moved in the French Assembly the abolition of aristocratic titles. Jefferson and Gouverneur Morris were both in Paris at the coming on of the Revolution, and were active in its preliminaries; the latter somewhat conservative in his counsels, the former in full sympathy with its leaders; both were oracles of the movement, consulted by all parties, and writing documents for all, including the perplexed king himself; and when the news of the death of Franklin arrived, the revolutionists paused to commemorate with public solemnities the man who, in the words of Mirabeau, had "wrested the scepter from kings and the lightning from heaven." During the first and best struggles of the French leaders the American Republic was ever present to their thoughts, the one realization of their political ideal.

If the French Revolution was then the epoch of modern European political history, the American Revolution, as its initiative, may be pronounced the epoch of general modern political history; and the reaction of the New World upon the Old must be considered an essential fact in European history. The influence of the antecedent republics and the "free cities" can scarcely be said to affect the question; we can hardly except that of Switzerland which, in its politics, as in its geography, has been too limited and too insulated, in the system of Europe, to have much effect, though it is daily becoming more effective by the new tendencies of European politics. The old republics and free cities were without any very distinct political dogmas or theoretical basis. The ethical idea of popular sovereignty, which is constantly becoming more and more fundamental in all civilized governments, is a doctrine of modern times, and is, in what we may call its scientific form, an American idea.

Latterly this American influence has been greatly augmented. Our Civil War may be said to have brought us fully out before Europe. European writers themselves tell us it was the most important civil war in the history of the world. It extemporized from its common citizens numerically the strongest military forces ever arrayed in such a conflict. Its great results, in the abolition of slavery and the organic consolidation of the

Republic—the peaceful disbanding of its forces, at the end of the war, and their re-absorption in industrial occupations; and—not the least consideration in Europe—the honest management and rapid reduction of the formidable national debt incurred by the war, are demonstrations of the efficiency of popular government which it would seem should end all controversy on that subject. They are powerful arguments for the Liberals of Europe. The Swiss Republic is adjacent to that of France, and there now projects, from the very heart of the continent to the Atlantic, what has been called a "Wedge of Republicanism." The common people of Europe are to-day pervaded by democratic ideas, and these ideas have taken on, more or less, an organized party form in most of her nationalities—in the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and even in Russia. Though, through the impatience of the people under many grievances, especially military grievances, these forms are marred by extravagant theories, we need not despair, for we know that the possession of power by the people at last, will, through self-interest, if by no higher motive, be corrective of anarchy; for nothing more effectively tends to conservatism than the responsibility of power.

As to the reaction of the New World on the industrial interests of the Old, little need here be said; for it is now obvious enough, and has become a grave phenomenon to European economists. Judging from their own calculations, the staple agricultural interests of Europe would seem to be doomed by American competition. The agriculture of England is confessedly doomed. France has had a commission in the United States to report on the question as it affects her own peasantry. This commission has studied it in our Western States, particularly in Texas; and, after estimating the necessary capital invested in land and stock, the production per acre, the cost of labor, etc., its verdict is that French agriculture cannot long stand before the competition; even her wine industry is ultimately threatened. The American competition, with individual European states, acts not only directly on them, but affects their own interaction. We may thus account in part, at least, for the decline of the exports compared with the imports of French trade. In the years 1873–75 the former exceeded the latter about $150,000,000; but in the year 1876

the tide turned, and the imports began to be in excess, the excess reaching $82,500,000. Last year the imports exceeded the exports by $275,000,000." Inevitably the staple cereals of Europe must give way before the great harvests of America. What, then, is to become of the peasantry of Europe who are the mass of its population? What we have called "unscientific" legislation may retard this revolution somewhat, but cannot arrest it, and can only exasperate its consequences. Emigration would seem to be the only relief, as Lord Derby has told the English laborers; but emigration itself will tend to augment the American competition, and thereby augment its consequences to Europe. There appears to be no alternative but in new, or, at least, in enlarged, manufacturing industries; but here again the New World is coming into competition with the Old. American manufactures are entering the markets of most of Europe, and competing with the manufacturers of the latter along the outlines of the whole world. From the superior resources of America in raw materials, the commercial energy of her people, and their inventive genius in supplying the lack of manual work by mechanical means, this portentous revolution would seem as sure as fate.

Should the American Union be maintained, as we certainly believe it will be, through the period we have been considering, its international relations with Europe, especially, in regard to war, will undergo extraordinary changes—changes the prospect of which must afford matter for speculation among military men. With the distance of the Republic, its vast resources, and its universal and patriotic citizenship, it would seem that it must be too formidable for military interference from any European state, or, as we have said, from any number of them combined. The two oceans are the best fortifications of the nation against both the European and the Asiatic worlds. If foreign forces could do harm to its chief ports they could not penetrate the country without plunging into a fatal abyss. The Washingtonian foreign policy will preserve us, we may hope, from serious international disturbances; but the moral force of American opinion, especially in the form of diplomacy, can hardly fail to be momentous, not to say irresistible. In the social developments of our age a new political authority has arisen, a higher law, a constitution of constitutions; it is

public opinion, public conscience. Certain evils once prevalent in individual states have disappeared, and others are disappearing under international moral influence. An *Auto-da-fé* could not again be ordained in Madrid, for the public opinion of Europe would not tolerate it, and her diplomatists would be ordered by all her other courts to forbid it. No serious religious persecution would now be allowed to go on, could even begin, under this new constitution; persecutions of Christians within the Turkish empire have been arrested by it; the late persecutions of the Jews, though denied to have been religious, have had to give way before it. Extreme political vices are becoming inadmissible under it; Mr. Gladstone's famous letter on the political prisoners of Naples was an effectual blow against the Bourbon dynasty there, and for the unification of Italy. The New World ought to be, at the time we are supposing, capable of an almost absolute exercise of this power, and she will be, if she chooses to be, morally worthy of it.

The subject is a tempting one for prophesyings, and even for "preachments," but we are forgetting the Paris "Bulletin." We return to its statistics only to meet a still more striking result, one which, as we have seen, surprises the French writer, though his mathematics force him up to it, and which we ourselves face with some sober misgivings. Having determined the period in which the movement of the center of population will be completed, he proceeds to determine the problem. What will then be the amount of the population? The former he ascertains, as we have seen, to be about 320 years; of the latter he says: "I hesitate to give you the true ciphers." They appear incredible; but, in order to give confidence to his European readers, he drops the ascertained ratio of increase, and instead of from 25 to 28 years, takes 30 years and then 40 years, and, at a still later date, 50 years; and advances, he says, "without fear of exaggeration," to the year 2000; "but," he adds, "in 2050 I discover 800,000,000 of men here! This is more than *double* all the population of Europe, including Russia. This result begins to disquiet me a little. It is the figure which was given at the beginning of this century for the population of the *whole earth.* To-day the population of the whole world is given at 1,500,000,000,* but in only about 320 years, when

* The latest German estimate (by Behm and Wagner) is 1,433,800,000.

the population of the United States has attained its full measure, it will be 1,600,000,000;" that is to say, a hundred millions more than the whole present population of our planet!

Well may M. Simonin express his astonishment, and his Paris correspondents address to him eager questions about the strange significance of this result, inevitable in the future; in even the proximate history of the world. It is not further from us in the future than the conquest of Mexico, by Cortez, is in the past. The time it requires is hardly forty years longer than that which has elapsed since the first European settlements were made within our present limits by Juan de Ornate and his Spaniards in Arizona; only about forty years more than the time which has elapsed since Captain John Smith reached Jamestown; about fifty-seven more than the arrival of the *Mayflower* at Plymouth; and a half century less than has passed since Ponce de Leon landed in Florida. "Such," remarks M. Simonin, "is the geographical phenomenon, so worthy of consideration, that we establish; a phenomenon that the United States alone presents." For this period which he considers so short, and this result which he considers so grand, he has reasoned with much sobriety and caution; he has diminished nearly one half the accepted ratio of increase—that is to say, nearly doubled the time necessary for the doubling of the population. Of course, the disposition of European doubters would be to contest his statistics; for, these admitted, his deductions seem incontestable. He re-affirms, however, their authenticity, and very emphatically: "Never," he says, "has any country on earth prepared statistics more carefully, more amply, or more vigilantly than the United States."

Conclusive as M. Simonin considers the logic of his figures, we have confessed our misgivings respecting this result. The time which seems so comparatively brief to him seems so long to us restless Americans, and the contingencies of three centuries are so incalculable to our positive ways of thinking, that while we admit his arithmetic, we do so with some vague dubitations. And yet the lessons of history, which suggest many doubts on such a question, give it also some strong probabilities. The arguments which we have given for the durability of the Union, through a briefer period, would seem to be relevant here also, and even with redoubled force; for history

shows that it is the large states, provided they be homogeneous in race and material interests, which are not only the most powerful, but the most durable. It was the little states of Germany and Italy that were most wrangling and precarious in the European system till their unification. There is more breathing room for the personal ambition of great leaders, more space for their activity in a useful way, as well as more important interests of the common citizens, in large than in petty states. As to the durability of the Republic through the requisite three centuries, history may console us with the facts that the Roman Republic lasted considerably longer, more than half the time longer; and the Swiss Republic has lasted nearly twice that time, and is as solid to-day as ever it has been.

We may take hope, also, from the character of our people. A people given to practical ideas and habitually absorbed in industrial interests, and especially in a country every natural condition of which appeals to such predispositions, is bound to be conservative, of the state at least, and to shun war. Our people are also notably homogeneous; foreign ideas and foreign languages quickly melt away among us. We have no dialects. So far as the English language is concerned, Sir John Dilke's "Greater Britain" is here. There is a still more vital sense in which our population is mostly homogeneous. It is predominantly of Teutonic blood; it comes not only of that old select Aryan race, which founded Indian and Persian, Greek and Latin civilization, but from the best modern branch of that race, the people who have outsped all its other branches, and who, to-day, lead all the others in colonization, in thought, in arts and arms. Not only were our fathers Anglo-Saxons, in both the East and the South, but our immigration has become the means of a re-infusion of the original German blood. At the period of the seventh census (1850) the Celtic element greatly predominated in our foreign population. Mr. Walker, superintendent of the late census, says that at that time "the United States might, with very little exaggeration, have been called New Ireland." But all this has since been rapidly changing, especially by immigration from the sterling Teutonic peoples of the Scandinavian states. Of the immigrants in the decade preceding 1850 the Germans amounted to but 25 per cent.; of those of the next decade they were 37 per cent.; their

gains over every other foreign race have gone on rapidly ever since, and it may be said that the immigrant re-enforcement of our population is now generally Teutonic. In 1850 the Irish were 43.5 per cent. of our total foreign population; in 1860 they had fallen to 38.9 per cent.; in 1870 to 33.3 per cent. The census for 1880 has not yet reported their present per centage, but Mr. Walker has announced that they do not now "constitute more than 27 per cent, of the foreign population of the country;" that is to say, hardly more than one fourth. The fall from 43½ per cent. to 27 per cent. is not a little significant.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the race element in the founding of the nation. Our colonial fathers, in both New England and Virginia, were not only Teutonic—Anglo-Saxons—but they were a select class of Anglo-Saxons. As Houghton, a New England divine, said, in 1688, "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness." The leading families of the Virginia colonists are well known to have been of a high English type, but they were not more so than those of New England; and the mass of the colonists of the latter were much superior to the same class in Virginia. Professor John Fisk has shown that the leaders in the East were fully equal to those of the South in their English standing and their character generally; "they were highly educated and wealthy men;" "in point of fact, the English ancestors of the Washingtons, Randolphs, Fairfaxes, and Talbots were no higher in social position than the families of the Winthrops, Dudleys, the Eatons and Saltonstalls. On the other hand, if we compare the mass of the settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut with the mass of the settlers of Virginia, the advantage is altogether on the side of the Northern colonies; their people were drawn from the very sturdiest part of the English stock. In all history there has been no other instance of a colony so exclusively peopled by picked and chosen men."

These Atlantic colonists have made the stamina of the nation. To say nothing of the millions of their descendants, who have gone westward from the Middle and Southern settlements, those of New England alone have spread out every-where and stamped the national type of character. The 21,000 Puritans who arrived in the East before the Long Parliament have become about 13,000,000; that is to say, more than one-fourth of

our present population. They have not only peopled all the Eastern States, but most of the interior of New York, and have swept thence to the Mississippi, founding the whole tier of great States along the lakes; and, at the breaking up of the somewhat regular movement of population by the gold discoveries of California, they have dispersed over all the far West, bearing with them the salutary traditions and institutions of their original home. Almost every-where they are the principal leaders of the commerce, the learned professions, the education, and the religious faith of the people.

With such a population, continually re-enforced by immigrants of the same Teutonic blood, we may hope that the future of the nation will be, as its past, safe and prosperous, though it may have struggles as in the past—struggles which, with nations as with individuals, invigorate. The native population has been the most effective force in all our national struggles. The American traveler in Europe is often amused by finding there quite a contrary impression. In Ireland he is saluted as the representative of a superlatively "illigant kentry," which the Irish saved, in the Civil War, by their numbers and valor in battle. In Germany he is assured that his country is next in greatness to the "Vater-land," and is particularly dear to the latter, because immigrant Germans saved it in the conflict with the Rebellion. He accepts gratefully the indirect compliment, but takes a sly satisfaction in stating the real statistics of the war. We know an American traveler who finds it convenient to bear about with him a brief printed copy of the official statistics, and to quietly present it for perusal in such cases. It shows:

American volunteers.....	1,523,267	English.....	45,56[illegible]
German.....	176,817	Other foreign volunteers...	58,41[illegible]
Irish.....	144,221	Drafted.....	521,06[illegible]
British American.....	55,332		

Doubtless many of these "American volunteers" were descendants of foreigners; but are we not all such? We may add that the official medical statistics, which are highly prized by European statisticians, show the superiority of the native American troops in height, breadth of shoulders, strength, power of endurance, and recovery in the hospitals.

There is one problem of our population which has not apparently arrested public attention, and which may seriously

affect our future. In the extinction of slavery was extinguished the most formidable peril of the Republic; but we have been too much disposed to rest satisfied with that result, and have hardly thought of another evil which it entails upon us. We have suffered severe retribution for the great sin, but are not yet through with its penalty? Law is as vigorous in its penalties as in its precepts, otherwise it would cease to be law; and law prevails invincibly in the social and political as well as in the physical world. The sins of nations, it has been said, have their retribution in the present world, though the individual accountability for them extends into the next. If sin is the "transgression" of the law, the endurance and right use of its penalties may, in a certain sense, be its "fulfillment," and may be salutary, especially to nations. The problem to which we now allude may give us occasion for the development of high national virtues. Optimism is the only rational philosophy here; the existence of law must be good; its invincibility must in a general sense be ultimately good, as there could be no reliable law without it; pessimism is absurd in the august presence of beneficent law; and Americans should never be pessimists.

The present problem is this: What must be the future of our African population and its results to the nation? The last census shows that it increases at a rate greater than that of the general population. It was then, in round numbers, 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population. The Paris "Bulletin" is surprised by this fact. The "Africans," it says, "were in 1870 only 4,880,000; but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. Their rate of increase is greater than that of the whites. This is a phenomenon curious and truly new—it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography." An eminent historian, Professor Freeman, who has lately traveled in the United States, has pointed to this fact as one of the gravest reasons for national anxiety. Our colored population is already much larger than the whole population at the beginning of the nation—hard on to double the latter. We must bear in mind that its superior rate of increase is without the aid of immigration, upon which the growth of the whites so much depends. If it should double, not at its own present rate of increase, but at that of the general population, say in about

every 27 years, it will be greater, within the life-time of our children, in about 70 years, than the present population of some of the important states of Europe; greater by millions than that of France, and advancing hard up toward the present figure of our whole population, white and black. In about 81 years it will be some two millions more than our aggregate population at the last census—but three years ago.

Here assuredly is matter for serious reflection. What are we to do with this people, who have hitherto deserved so well of the Republic? If we have made them politically our equals, still, by our conventional opinions they are socially proscribed; and, unfortunately for the problem, the chief cause of that proscription, though it be but "skin deep," confronts us on their very brows. According to almost universal opinion the repugnance which it produces, and which prevents their blending, like all other races among us, with the common population, is founded, it is affirmed, in instinctive feeling; for, say what we please on the subject, a black rose could never be as acceptable to natural taste as a white or red one. It is an old maxim that "there is no accounting for taste;" were it true, it would not lessen the difficulty of the present problem; but the American people deny the maxim in this case; they repel "amalgamation," and insist that their distaste for it is founded in nature, and, therefore, can be accounted for. But are we to go on indefinitely, with (numerically) a nation, and a mighty nation, within the nation? Can we successfully so go on? Whatever may be the political condition of this people, its social proscription cannot fail to degrade it and embarrass and degrade us. In spite of all its struggles upward, and its political and moral claims to equality, it will be kept down by such a proscription; it will become an immense caste. Can a democratic nation like ours subsist prosperously with a perpetual and ever-growing caste? Can we safely incorporate in our republican and Christian civilization the Pariah barbarism of the Hindus?

We have our answers to these questions, but cannot present them here for lack of room. The problems we have been considering, are suggestive of not a few other urgent questions. Indisputably this nation stands before the world to-day in an attitude never heretofore seen in the history of nations. Both

our friends and our enemies abroad admonish us of that fact. We have reached a point where we must, in the interests of our children and of the human race, face some further and most momentous problems, and we should do so frankly and courageously. In a future paper we may discuss some of them.

Art. III.—RESULTS OF THE FIRST METHODIST ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE

In this paper I purpose to give some of the more important results of the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in City Road Chapel. And as I intend to confine myself to them, I begin by stating broadly that the Conference has already resulted in great good to universal Methodism, to the Church of Christ, and to the world, warranting the sure promise of much greater good for years to come. I am persuaded that the gathering of Methodists in City Road Chapel was providential, as providential as any fact in Methodist history, a history marked all along by special providences, ever since what Mr. Wesley called Methodism's "first rise," in 1729, in Oxford; or its "second rise," in 1736, at Savannah, Ga.; or its "third rise," in 1739, in London, when he organized the first Methodist societies.

The place, too, where the Conference was held was the most appropriate, and the time when the most opportune. The place was City Road Chapel, a spot as sacred to the followers of the great Methodist revivalist as Jerusalem to the followers of the Hebrew lawgiver, or Mecca to the followers of the Mohammedan prophet. It is true that the place was not in Aldersgate Street, where Wesley is said to have been converted; nor was it at the Old Foundry, Methodism's earliest chapel. For no Methodist chapel has ever been builded on the spot where, on that memorable night in Aldersgate Street, May, 1738, Wesley's heart was so "strangely warmed," and the Old Foundry was soon exchanged for Mr. Wesley's new chapel in City Road. City Road Chapel early became the nucleus of Wesley's labors, whence radiated those spiritual and revival influences which swept over the Three Kingdoms.

Opposite the chapel, and on the other side of the street

called City Road, is the celebrated Bunhill Fields, where are deposited the bones of the Dissenters, who, against king and court and bishops, boldly asserted their right to liberty of conscience and to worship God as the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Spirit seemed to them to teach. There lies all that is mortal of the great dreamer who described the Christian pilgrim's journey from this world to the celestial city; and there lies the body of Isaac Watts, the sweetest singer in Israel till Charles Wesley came, since death silenced forever royal David's tuneful harp. There many others, whose names to the lovers of religious liberty in both hemispheres are like fragrant and precious ointment, quietly sleep, waiting the trump of the archangel to arouse them from their graves. And there, too, rests the body of that "elect lady," so dear to the people called Methodists, Susanna Wesley, wife of the saintly rector of Epworth, and the mother of John Wesley, Methodism's great founder, and of Charles Wesley, Methodism's great lyric poet. As one enters the open court which leads to City Road Chapel, there, on the right, is the house of John Wesley, in which he gave back his life to God, and where, with his almost latest breath, he uttered those words which have been as a talisman to so many thousands in the dying hour, "The best of all is, God is with us." On the left, and in the rear of the house used as a parsonage by the preacher in charge of City Road Chapel Circuit, and directly facing the open court, is the room where Joseph Benson wrote his great commentary. In the chapel itself is the pulpit from which Wesley preached to the multitudes that hung upon his lips; and there, along its walls, are the marble tablets of many of Methodism's sainted dead. And in the humble grave-yard behind the chapel is the monument which tells us that the body of John Wesley lies beneath it; there the one which reminds us that we stand by the grave of Adam Clarke; and there are the tombs which hold the dust of many other illustrious Methodist worthies. There, in City Road Chapel, consecrated by so many precious memories of Methodism's earlier and later history, was most appropriately held the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference.

And the time for the Methodist hosts to gather in City Road Chapel was the most opportune. The fullness of time had come. An earlier date would have been too soon; if it had

been postponed to some future period it might have been too late. The Methodist world was ready for the Ecumenical gathering; the fatlings and the oxen were killed, and all were eager for the feast. What had gone before was the preparation before Methodism's greatest Sabbath; when that Sabbath came, Methodism awoke to the resurrection of even newer life, and of still brighter hopes for the future. Silently, but surely, through the long years past, God was preparing for the hour when he would show to his Church and to the world what he had wrought for both through his servant, John Wesley, and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

Not without many a hard struggle, and many long years of patient waiting, has Methodism at last had assigned to it any thing like its true place in English and ecclesiastical history. It was at first caricatured and satirized by poets and painters; it was mimicked by the wits of London; it was besmirched by the "successors in scurrility of the comic dramatists of the Restoration." Archiepiscopal sees madly anathematized it; bishops hurled bitter invectives and wrote scurrilous things against it; parish priests and curates derided it and persecuted it; courtly lords and high-born ladies treated it to jibes and sneers; and an ignorant rabble and a besotted populace, urged on by them all, often pelted it with brickbats and with rotten eggs. High-Churchmen, like Warburton and Lavington, assailed Methodism and its saintly founder with bitterness and rage; evangelicals, like Toplady and Rowland Hill, inveighed against both in language more suited to fishmongers than to preachers of the Gospel of peace. The great Baptist preacher, Robert Hall, speaking of the abuse which Toplady heaped upon the devoted head of John Wesley "for things purely speculative and of very little importance," says that he would not have incurred the sin of that abuse for ten thousand worlds. But none of these things moved John Wesley. "The most extraordinary thing about the Methodist movement," writes Robert Hall, "was that while Wesley set all in motion, he himself was perfectly calm and phlegmatic; he was the quiescence of turbulence." When I entered Machinery Hall, at our Centennial, in 1876, I was greeted with the buzz of saws, the clatter of shuttles, the hum of spindles, and with

many other noises in that vast acreage of machinery. In the middle of the immense hall I saw that the huge wheel of a Corliss engine was connected by bands with every machine in the building, from the most ponderous, to the lightest performing the most delicate ladies' needle-work. Silently, noiselessly, without friction, it was setting all in motion, while all around was din and confusion. Then I could understand what Robert Hall meant by the "quiescence of turbulence." What was seen and heard in Machinery Hall was no mean illustration of Wesley and his work. Unmoved by the taunts and jibes of the malignant, the sneers and derision of scoffers, the indifferentism of careless Gallios, the invectives and anathemas of worldly prelates, and the peltings of brutal mobs, John Wesley, with unparalleled English manliness, with heroic faith in God and his promises to the faithful, and with love to God and love to man for God's sake as his sole controlling motive, went through the Three Kingdoms, every-where proclaiming the newly-revived and glad evangel, arousing the slumbering Established and Non-conformist Churches, reclaiming the backslidden, and saving the lost. And ere he closed his eyes in death, at his house in City Road, he lived to see thousands of happy, joyous Christians in his societies and in the Churches of the Establishment and Dissent, and to hear himself invited and welcomed back to pulpits from which he had been rudely shut out.

Before the eighteenth century ended, the evangelical work of Wesley began to be acknowledged, and the claim of Methodism as a new and great spiritual force to be confessed. But this acknowledgment and confession were slow in their growth, partial and circumscribed in their extent. The nineteenth century passed its meridian before, in the Old World, or in the New where it has had its largest development, Methodism came to be treated with any thing like fairness. Meanwhile, in both, and notably in the New more than in the Old, Methodism, by its unparalleled successes, was powerfully vindicating its rightful claim to be considered the greatest force that God, in these latter days, has set in motion for the revival of his work and the spread of his Gospel. A few advanced thinkers outside of Methodism began in a measure to comprehend and acknowledge the justice of this claim. Lord Macaulay recog-

nized it, and to some extent acknowledged it, when he condemned "those books called Histories of England in the reign of George II. in which the rise of Methodism is not even mentioned." Mr. Buckle, the skeptical author of the "History of Civilization in England," saw the influence of John Wesley—whom he called "the first of theological statesmen"—upon the English Church, when he wrote that Wesley exerted as great an influence upon the Established Church of England as Luther exerted upon the Church of Rome. Robert Southey, once England's poet laureate, on whose head, when a mere child in Bristol, the hand of John Wesley was placed, and who felt that touch as a benediction through all his future life, in beautiful prose scarcely equaled in biographical literature, and with surprising fairness in one so little qualified to judge the spiritual side of the great Methodist revivalist, wrote a charming life of Wesley, whom, as he subsequently wrote, he considered "the most influential mind of the last century, the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps milleniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." Isaac Taylor, a very able and philosophic writer of the Church of England, though far from comprehending the true genius of Methodism, yet characterized the Methodist movement "as the starting-point of our modern religious polity, and the field-preaching of Wesley and Whitefield as the event whence the religious epoch now current must date its commencement," and saw that "the Methodism of the past age points forward to the next coming development of the powers of the Gospel." The name of Wesley had become such a household word in many British homes that Earl Stanhope, in his "History of England," wrote that "thousands who never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole continued to follow the precepts and to venerate the name of John Wesley." Sir James Stephen, in his "Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography," writing about the good men of Clapham who met at the princely mansion of the Thorntons, tells us that the whole evangelical party of the Church of England may trace their spiritual genealogy by regular descent from the Methodist George Whitefield, Mr. Wesley's disciple at Oxford, and the great pulpit orator of the Methodist movement. Nor at this day, however Wesley and his evangelical work may have been

caricatured and satirized by it, is English fiction without appreciation of the founder of Methodism. In "Adam Bede," he is "that man of God who spent his whole life in doing what our blessed Master did, preaching the Gospel to the poor." And in the "Diary of Mistress Kitty Trevylyan," he is the preacher who appeared "not so much to plead as to speak with authority, who by the force of his own conviction made his hearers feel that every word he said was true; and yet so moved were they that many would weep, some would sob as if their hearts would break, and many would gaze as if they would not weep, nor stir, lest they should lose a word."

But it belongs to the last decade to have done much fuller justice to Mr. Wesley and the Methodist movement. Of late, there has been a wonderful revival of thought on the life and work of John Wesley. Mr. Curteis, in his Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford, in 1871, calls Mr. Wesley "the purest, noblest, most saintly clergyman of the eighteenth century, whose whole life was passed in the sincere and loyal effort to do good." Mr. Green, Examiner in the School of Modern History, Oxford, in his "Short History of the English People," tells us that "the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival;" that "its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy, and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible." Mr. Perry, Canon of Lincoln and Rector of Waddington, in his "History of the Church of England," says that it was John Wesley who "brought out with great force the teaching of the Church on the doctrines of grace, and showed to many of the clergy the meaning of their formularies which they had not before apprehended." Dr. Stoughton, in his "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," calls Methodism "a fact in the history of England which develops in large and much larger dimensions as time rolls on," and says that "its rise and progress may be regarded as the most important ecclesiastical fact of modern times." In "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," the joint work of Messrs. Abbey and Overton, both of the University of Oxford and distinguished presbyters of the Church of England, Mr. Abbey

tells us that Methodism "marked a decided turn, not only in popular feeling on religious topics and in the language of the pulpit, but also in theological and philosophical thought in general," and that it was William Law, and, far more practically and effectively, it was John Wesley, who gave the death-blow to the eighteenth century forms of Deism. Mr. Overton, in the same work, tells us that Wesley "stands pre-eminent among the worthies who originated and conducted the revival of practical religion which took place in the last century." "The world," he adds, "has at length done tardy justice to its benefactor." Mr. Gladstone, the Premier of England, in his "Evangelical Movement: Its Parentage, Progress, and Issue," says that Wesley, whom he calls "that extraordinary man, whose life and acts have taken their place in the religious history, not only of England, but of Christendom," gave "the main impulse out of which sprang the Evangelical movement." Dr. Conant, in his "Narratives of Remarkable Conversions and Revival Incidents," writes that, in this movement, Wesley was "rather alone than eminent." J. Stowell Brown, of Liverpool, who has the reputation of being the most cultured Baptist preacher in England, when spokesman for the Non-conformist delegation of ministers to the Wesleyan Conference, Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, in his address before the Wesleyan body, which the writer of this paper heard, said that but one man deserved to be called the saviour of England, and that that man was John Wesley. Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Wesleyanism was, in many respects, by far the most important phenomenon of the eighteenth century." Mr. Lecky, in his "England in the Eighteenth Century," writes: "Although the career of the elder Pitt, and the splendid victories by land and sea that were won during his ministry, form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes in the reign of George II., they must yield, I think, in real importance, to that religious revolution which shortly before had been begun in England by the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield." John Wesley, he thinks, had a prominent place in saving England from the horrors and infidelity of the French Revolution, and from the anarchy which was threatened by "the creation of the great manufacturing centers," and the angry contest

which arose between capital and labor; and that this John Wesley did by "opening a new spring of moral and religious energy among the poor, and at the same time giving a powerful impulse to the philanthropy of the rich." "The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect," he writes, "extending over both hemispheres, and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the Established Church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history." "The Methodists," he adds, "have already far outnumbered every other Non-conformist body in England, and every other religious body in the United States, and they are probably destined largely to increase; while the influence of the movement transformed for a time the whole spirit of the Established Church, and has been more or less felt in every Protestant community speaking the English language." And it was John Wesley—as Mr. Lecky writes in a letter to me—who, while the politicians were doing so much to divide, did so much, in spite of civil war and international jealousy, to unite the two great branches of the English people.

It will be noticed that in this paper we have presented no judgment of Wesley by any Methodist writer, or by any one who is at all connected with Methodism. Methodist authorities have been passed over in silence. Neither Richard Watson nor Abel Stevens has been mentioned; nor have we mentioned Methodism's later writers, Dr. Rigg, Luke Tyerman, or M. Lelièvre; nor have we named any who have recently written for "The Wesley Memorial Volume; or, Wesley and the Methodist Movement, judged by nearly one hundred and fifty writers, living or dead." It was to be expected that the testimony of the great men of Methodism in both hemispheres, whom the editor of that volume enlisted to write for it, would be favorable to Wesley and the Methodist movement. But Methodists are not the only ones who have written expressly for the Wesley Memorial Volume, or whose judgments, expressed elsewhere, are given in it. In that volume—both those who wrote expressly for it and those whose judgments of Methodism and its founder, given elsewhere, are presented in it—whether the writers are Arminian or Calvinistic Methodists;

whether High-Churchmen, Low-Churchmen, or Broad-Churchmen of the Church of England—whether Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Lutherans, Moravians, Salzburghers, or of the Reformed Church of France—whether English, American, Canadian, Irish, Scotch, German, or French—give concurrent testimony, so far as it relates to John Wesley as a revivalist of the Churches and to Methodism as a great spiritual force in the world.

Now one would suppose such evidence were enough to make the claim of Methodism universally acknowledged, and to close every mouth raised against it. But very few have seen the testimony thus presented. Many of the authorities mentioned in this paper have had their respective readers, but how few the number who have collated and compared them. Besides, if one outside of Methodism had read, collated, and compared all that has been said of Mr. Wesley and Methodism, he would have needed the evidence presented by the gathering of Ecumenical Methodism in City Road Chapel to enable him to form any thing like even an approximate estimate of the power and progress of Methodism. Nor is this true of those beyond the pale of Methodism alone. Before the assemblage in City Road Chapel, Methodism did not know its own power. The wisest and best-informed Methodists needed just the evidence which the Ecumenical Conference gave to show the nature and extent of what God had wrought in the world by the Methodist movement. The Ecumenical Conference taught what could not be learned from books. It supplied what could not be gained by the most intimate acquaintance with the work of the respective Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference. It showed to Methodists themselves, to other Churches, to the outside world, what had not been known before. And it gave to what was shown a publicity which nothing else could have given. Comparatively few, and they but imperfectly, had learned from books what Methodism has accomplished; millions were taught it, and far better, by assembled Methodism in City Road Chapel. The Conference aroused an interest in Methodism, and an inquiry into its history, its nature, and its work, unheard-of in all the past. All eyes were directed to it. In England Annual Conferences of the respective Methodisms, outside of themselves, had been

of very little account. They came and went without notice, scarcely causing a ripple on the surface of current life and work. An Annual Conference of the Wesleyans in London was an event of trifling significance to others; hardly more significant was it in Liverpool or Manchester. But not so was it with the Ecumenical Conference. The spectacle of Methodism from all parts of the world assembled in the world's metropolis, from both hemispheres, from all continents, from Upper and Lower Canada, from New Brunswick, from Nova Scotia, from Newfoundland, from every State and almost from every Territory of the United States, from Mexico, from South America, from Africa, from Australia, from New Zealand, from the Fiji Islands, from China, from Japan, from India, from Italy, from Germany, from Prussia, from France, from Norway, from Sweden, from England, from Wales, from Scotland, and from Ireland, was a spectacle which attracted almost universal attention. The press, secular and religious, heralded its coming, and reported its proceedings after it came. The great London dailies — the "Times," the "News," the "Standard," and the "Telegraph"—through their respective reporters, gave well-prepared and truthful synopses of its daily proceedings. At breakfast every one throughout Great Britain who took one of the great London dailies read these reports with the same interest he had read, a short time before, the debates on the Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords. The electric telegraph flashed the daily proceedings of the Conference to the provincial papers of Great Britain and Ireland; submarine cables dispatched them to all quarters of the Christian world where there is a telegraph and a printing-press. Leaders after leaders—many written with surprising fairness and discrimination—appeared in the dailies and in the weeklies, both secular and religious. In due time appeared able and appreciative reviews in the monthlies and the quarterlies. Methodism was thus the better understood, and its great work more highly appreciated. The debates of the Conference on many questions of great and practical interest, and the ability and spirit with which these debates were conducted, were greatly approved and commended. And the progress of Methodism, which the Ecumenical Conference tangibly and practically demonstrated, astounded all. Most

Englishmen had been accustomed to think of Methodism only in its relation, as seen in Great Britain, to the overpowering and overshadowing Establishment. But now they saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, what a mighty spiritual force Methodism is in the world, and how great its progress and development from small beginnings scarcely a century and a half ago. But one hundred and forty-four years had passed since Wesley fled from his persecutors in Georgia, a fugitive and an exile, believing that his life was a failure. But now over five million communicants are called by his name; over one hundred and twenty-five thousand itinerant and local preachers are preaching the same Gospel which he preached; nearly six million children are in Methodist Sabbath-schools; and thirty million adherents are under Methodist influence. No wonder the outside Christian and the irreligious world were astounded by such amazing results. Christians of other evangelical Churches rejoiced to see what God had wrought through Methodism; and the irreligious world conceived a respect for Methodism such as it had never had. Was not, then, the time for holding the Ecumenical Conference most opportune? And was not Methodism a great gainer by it?

One event happened during the Conference which deserve passing notice. This was the death of President Garfield. Near the close of the Conference the sad intelligence was announced that the President of the United States had at last yielded up his life a victim to the bullet of the assassin. Day after day prayer had been offered that his life might be spared. These prayers, and the sense of a common affliction, had drawn into closer union and fellowship the delegates from the various Methodisms of the United States. All distinctions of party and race and color, of North and South, were obliterated by the heaviness of the blow which had fallen on all Americans alike. A warmer and a deeper brotherly feeling was kindled in every American heart, heightened and intensified by the true and generous sympathy which every Briton in the Conference extended to their brethren from America who were bowed down by a common sorrow. But pure and true and deep as was this brotherly feeling when we prayed for our President living, it was increased manifold when we prayed for the wife and children of our President dead, and our

English and Welsh and Scotch and Irish Methodist brethren mingled their tears with ours.

But we come now to notice more particularly the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon Methodism itself, and notably upon the Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland. But before we write what we have to say about the Wesleyans, it may be well to indicate the sources of our information respecting them, and the opportunities we had of estimating their spirit and work.

In 1878 I visited the Wesleyan Conference at Bradford, and, seated upon its platform, was for three weeks a daily attendant upon its proceedings. During that time I made the acquaintance of many prominent Wesleyan preachers and laymen, for whom I came to entertain a high regard. In public and in private, in the conference room, at dinings, and elsewhere, I was a close observer of the Wesleyans who honored me with their acquaintance. From Bradford I soon went to London, where I remained for three months. There again, in many ways, I was brought into more perfect knowledge of the Wesleyans and their work. This work was my study. I studied in their books, in their Church papers, magazines, and reviews, in the Minutes of their Conferences, and in attendance on their meetings; and I learned much from conversations with many of their leaders. Not only my special mission to England—to solicit the co-operation of British Methodists in building in Savannah, Georgia, the Wesley Monumental Church as a connectional and ecumenical work—but the conception of the Wesley Memorial Volume, and the effort to secure the best Wesleyan writers as contributors to its pages, brought me into a correspondence with Wesleyans which has been to me both a profit and a delight. Again, in 1881, about six weeks before the Ecumenical Conference, I was for ten days at the Wesleyan Conference, during its session in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool. The interval between the Wesleyan Conference in Liverpool and the Ecumenical Conference I spent in London. All this time, and during the Ecumenical Conference itself, in which I sat as one of the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, I was a close student of Wesleyanism, its men, its spirit, its institutions, its methods, and its work. While others were hurrying through the Three Kingdoms and the Continent, tak-

ing a bird's-eye view of what they saw, I never went outside of London, both during my sojourn there in 1878, and afterward in 1881, unless I except a trip of six hours to Windsor, when the Ecumenical Conference was over. Hence, I saw Wesleyanism, not only on its gala days and dress parades, but in camp and in field.

When I looked on the Wesleyans at Bradford in 1878, and again at Liverpool in 1881, I thought that these eyes never beheld a finer or more imposing body of men. And I do not speak of their physique—though that was manly and commanding—but of their intellectual endowments, their mental wealth, their practical common sense, their mastery of business, their knowledge of parliamentary law, and their skill in debate. Neither did consecration to their work, nor any moral or spiritual force, appear to be wanting. I was devoutly filled with admiration, and often silently gave praise to Almighty God for raising up so many sons of Wesley to carry on the great work of revival which God had committed to their hands. Both at Bradford and at Liverpool the Wesleyans impressed me as a great and powerful body of ministers of the Lord Jesus. And, as I looked on, here, thought I, is intellectual and spiritual power enough to turn the Three Kingdoms from sin and Satan to God. What, I asked myself, could John Wesley have accomplished if he had had at his back the great preachers whom I saw before me—the president, the ex-presidents, the governors and tutors of colleges, the missionaries to far-off lands, the superintendents of districts, and the great body of educated and well-trained ministers of circuits? And when I beheld the Mixed Conference of preachers and laymen assembled for the first time at Bradford, I asked what limits to Wesley's work, if he had had to aid him these consecrated merchant princes from Bradford and Manchester, these wealthy bankers from Liverpool and London, these rich miners from the Principality and from Cornwall, these influential magistrates of provincial towns, these learned councilors of the Queen, these titled baronets of the crown, and these eloquent members of the High Court of Parliament? But where, I further asked, in all England, in Wales, in Scotland, or in Ireland, was there evidence of work for the Master commensurate with the great intellectual, moral, and religious forces of the Wesleyan body?

That body, it is true, is the largest of the Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland; it is much larger, indeed, than any other Non-conformist body in England. But ought it not to have been much larger than it is? We make every allowance for what Wesleyanism has lost through emigration to other countries. And it has thus lost a great deal. The Methodisms of other parts of the world—in the United States, the Canadas, Australia, and many isles of the sea—have largely gained by the losses of the Wesleyans. What has been thus lost to Wesleyanism has been a great gain to Methodism elsewhere. And while we think that its progress at home has not kept pace with the means at its command, we gladly acknowledge that its success in distant missionary fields is without a parallel in the history of modern missions. The Wesleyans of Great Britain and Ireland have the most successful Protestant Missionary Church in the world. Over one hundred thousand converts to Christianity, now living in heathen lands, tells the bright story of their success as a Missionary Church. God be praised for this! If the Wesleyans had done nothing more, they would be justly entitled to the plaudits of evangelical Protestantism in all parts of the world. But why, it may still be asked, has Wesleyanism not effected greater conquests at home? There is but one answer to this question, and it is the whole answer. It is an answer which applies as well to other Methodist bodies of Great Britain and Ireland, and, indeed, to all Non-conformist bodies in the Three Kingdoms. The one cause of comparative failure in all is the overshadowing power of the Establishment. The Wesleyans are so overshadowed by the great and powerful Establishment as to be afraid of their own shadows. If they had had in England the same zeal and courage and faith which have ever distinguished them in lands where they have been beyond the fear-producing shadow of the Establishment, their success in England would have been much greater. We do not say that, by this time, Wesleyanism ought to have undermined the Establishment, or to have wholly pervaded it with its own spirit. But we do say that the relative strength of the Establishment ought to have been weakened, and the relative strength of Wesleyanism greatly increased.

Do we expect these thing to continue in the future as in the

past? By no means. We confidently expect much larger results to Wesleyanism in the years to come. The Ecumenical Conference gave to Wesleyanism the very thing it needed. It greatly encouraged and strengthened Wesleyanism. The Wesleyans saw that, though they are a small body compared with the Established Church, they are a great part of the most powerful evangelical body in the world. To the other Methodisms, forming in the aggregate a mighty spiritual force, the Wesleyan body stands related as the parent body of the whole. They saw how many stalwart sons stand at the back of "the mother of us all." Hence, by the Ecumenical Conference, the very back-bone of Wesleyanism was stiffened, its faith increased, its courage strengthened, its zeal quickened. Looking beyond the Atlantic, and seeing what Methodist faith and Methodist courage and Methodist zeal and Methodist manhood have accomplished, under God, in the New World, Wesleyanism, with armor refurbished and strengthened, has buckled it on anew, and gone forth to the contest with largely increased assurance of success.*

In a paper on the Ecumenical Conference it may be well to notice its effects on Disestablishment. While the union of Church and State may have saved Protestantism to England by uniting her people against the Papal power, it has certainly hampered freedom of thought at home by its direct, or indirect, proscription of all who do not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. It has not only hindered the growth of other forms of evangelical Protestantism, but it has necessarily weakened the Church itself by its latitudinarianism, by its laxity of discipline, by its benefices, by its preferments, and by infusing worldly policies and maxims into the Church of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. The Establishment having served its day as a bulwark against the armed coalitions of Catholic Europe, and English Protestantism being no longer in danger from this quarter, there are thousands in England, *inside*, as well as outside, of the Establishment, who think that the only way to correct the evils inseparable from

* Long after the above was written we received the report of the Wesleyans for 1881–1882. The result has been as we expected. The past has been by far the most signal and successful in the history of British Wesleyanism for many long years.

the union of Church and State is to dissolve that union now and forever. Hence, Disestablishment—that is, the separation of Church and State—is the rallying cry of many within the Establishment itself.

In the Established Church of England there are three great parties—the High-Church, or the Liturgical, party; the Low-Church, or the Evangelical, party; and the Broad-Church, or the Latitudinarian, party. In the High-Church party many are seeking disestablishment. Their theory is that the Church is supreme, and that Christ is the only lawgiver. Believing that they can worship God more acceptably by more æsthetic forms and more imposing rubrics than those prescribed and sanctioned by the laws of the realm, they aim to place the Church and its service beyond the power of Acts of Parliament. And as this can only be done by the separation of Church and State, they are for that. Already have some of the parish priests of this party been tried, convicted, and punished for infractions upon the rubrics of the Church. The Judge of the Arches Court—called in England the Dean of the Arches—has pronounced against appellants from the lower Ecclesiastical Courts, who were convicted of worshiping God contrary to the prescribed forms of the Church of England. The convicted have been doomed to prison walls for reasons like to those which sentenced John Bunyan and Richard Baxter to English jails. That they may worship God according to forms which the conscience and taste of the worshipers dictate, they are sufferers in a cause like to that which sent Presbyterians to the pillory and Methodists to the horse-pond.

But not only are many of the High-Church party contending for disestablishment, but many of the Low-Church party are doing the same thing. The truly evangelical of this party have learned, from an experience of nearly one hundred and fifty years, that no State Church can be wholly pervaded by a revival of religion. They have learned more than this. They have learned that establishment is no fruitful soil for evangelicalism. The leaders of the evangelical party, its Cecils, its Scotts, its Milners, its Newtons, its Cowpers, and its Thorntons—successors to its Venns, its Berridges, its Romaines, its Herveys, and its Topladys, who received their inspiration direct from the Wesleys and Whitefield—have themselves been

succeeded, in these later years, by some who, like Newman and Manning, have gone over to Rome. The latter part of the nineteenth century exhibits the strange phenomenon of a Church whose highest ritualists are more spiritual and evangelical than many of the successors of the evangelicals of the eighteenth. These things are forcing upon some of the Low-Church party of this day the anxious inquiry, Why this phenomenal condition of things? The answer they find in the fact that a State Church must of necessity be so latitudinarian in doctrine and so lax in discipline as to include thousands of self-seekers, whose only connection with it is the accident of birth; whose only orthodoxy is the formal subscription of their hands, and not of their hearts, to its Thirty-nine Articles; and whose only spiritual pabulum is the loaves and fishes which it holds out to them. To free themselves from influences so hurtful to evangelicalism and all healthful Christian growth, many of the Low-Church party are also advocating the separation of Church and State. A comparison of evangelicalism *within* with evangelicalism *without* the Establishment, forces the conviction that the Church is the purer the freer it is from connection with the State. Broad-Churchmen, as the rule, may favor establishment; many High-Churchmen and Low-Churchmen, for the reasons given, are for disestablishment.

Among those in England favoring disestablishment are the Non-conformists, namely, the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and the various Methodist bodies, except the Wesleyans. Strange to say, the Wesleyan leaders have been mainly Tory, or conservative, in Church politics. The Wesleyans have been a powerful breakwater against the tide which threatens the overthrow of the Establishment; and yet the Establishment has so fettered Wesleyanism as greatly to hinder its progress. This influence of the Wesleyans, being the largest and most powerful Non-conformist body in England, has had very great weight. In a conversation with some of the Primitive Methodist leaders we were told that, if the Wesleyans would unite with the other Non-conformists of England, and with those of the Church of England who are advocating disestablishment, it would not be ten years before the separation of Church and State would be an accomplished fact. But it must be said that there are strong and able men among the

younger Wesleyans who do not hold the views of the older and more conservative leaders. They, too, are for disestablishment. This growing party within the Wesleyan body needed to be strengthened. The needed strength was given by the Ecumenical Conference. The growth of Methodism in countries—as in the United States of America—where there is no union of Church and State, contrasted with its growth where such union exists, could not fail to exert a great influence upon both parties in the Wesleyan body. The one was strengthened; the other, correspondingly weakened. Hence, as one of the results of the Ecumenical Conference, we expect to see the Wesleyans united against establishment; and, at an early day, as predicted by the Primitive Methodists, the separation of Church and State in England.

Another result of the late Ecumenical Conference will be that the Wesleyans will be less exclusive and more connectional, less national and more international, in the future. We shall not mention all that is suggested by this thought, or all that the facts fully warrant. British exclusiveness may not have lessened respect for British authority, but it has greatly affected the love of others for the British people. The supercilious-ness common to Englishmen has not been so changed and sanctified by grace as to disappear altogether in English Christians. British superiority is asserted, not only in arms, in government, and in literature, but in Christian culture and in Christian work. An Englishman of the times of Pitt or of Gladstone, whatever his religious faith, is like an Athenian in the days of Pericles, or Demosthenes. As no pre-eminence was admitted outside of Attica; so no pre-eminence is admitted outside of England. And as the average Athenian, asserting an exclusive claim to originality, refused to be taught by others; so the average Englishman, asserting a like claim, believes that no other can instruct him. But this is an age in which the tendency—to a greater degree in America than in England—has been to the strengthening of international ties. The community of interest, of similar pursuits, and of like principles has been growing stronger, as the facilities for international communication have been multiplied by steam and telegraph. This community of interest, pursuits, and principles has formed a bond of union between men of different nationalities

almost as strong as that of kindred and blood. Class gravitates to class as never was known before in the history of the human race. And when to the bond of which we are speaking has been added the bond of a common faith in a common Redeemer—the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace—the international is strengthened, and the merely national proportionately weakened. That God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that the salvation of all—whatever one's nationality may be—is equally the care of the common Father, is being the more received as a divine truth. Now, British exclusiveness, not theoretically it is true, but practically and surely, has been in the way of the development of this idea. There has not been that oneness of aim and feeling between British Christians and American Christians of the same faith and order which a common ancestry and superior international communication would lead us to expect. It is true that there is not so great a union between American Christians and French Christians. But this does not militate against that for which we are contending. There is but one reason to assign for this—the fewness of the number of Frenchmen who are at one with any body of Protestant Christians in the United States. *If Frenchmen were Protestants and Methodists—even with less facilities for intercommunication—the bond of union between them and American Methodists, notwithstanding the differences in race and language, would be far greater than that between American and British Methodists.* British exclusiveness has been the cause of this—an exclusiveness which, as we believe, was greatly modified by the Ecumenical Conference. British Methodists and American Methodists were there brought nearer, and were bound more closely together. The exclusive Methodist Englishman decreased; the international, the cosmopolitan Methodist Englishman, increased.

It has been painful to American Methodists to see how little practical sympathy British Methodists have had in work outside of themselves—especially in work on this side of the Atlantic. They have been shut up within themselves, caring but little for the enterprises of others. This has been at the expense of that enlarged liberality which bears one another's burdens. No great body of Christians are more liberal to themselves; few,

perhaps, less liberal to others. In providing for their own the Wesleyans are beyond praise. Witness the recent Thanksgiving Fund, and the ample provision for their ministers. The Wesleyans have, pecuniarily, the best-endowed body of Christian ministers in the world. To get within the Conference, and to keep within it, is to be well endowed for life. The average provision for a Wesleyan minister is much above the average provision for the priests and curates of the Establishment. Indeed, the truly self-denying and cross-bearing ministers of the England of to-day are the lesser parish priests and curates of the English Church. While societies of ladies are formed all over the realm to beg second-hand and cast-off clothing for the poorer clergy and their families, the Wesleyans have splendidly provided for the education and even the maintenance of the children of their ministers, for the help of the widows and orphans of their deceased pastors, and for the support of their supernumerary as well as their superannuated preachers. Liberality is expended in this way more largely than by any other Christian Church. And so jealous are the ministers themselves to secure to the beneficiaries what is devoted to these uses, that they guard, with the utmost vigilance, all admissions to the Conference, lest the applicant, if received, diminish the distributive share of those already admitted. And this is too often done at the expense of aggressiveness. At the Wesleyan Conference, held at Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, July, 1881, at which the writer was present, not an applicant was admitted to the Conference, though about seventy-five—chiefly young men and graduates of its colleges and theological training-schools—were earnestly knocking at its doors. The argument which prevailed against their admission was that it would lessen the income of those who were already claimants on the Conference funds. The hardness of the times—the financial crisis—was pleaded as the excuse for this. In vain was it urged in reply that the fields were white to the harvest; in vain was the Conference incited to greater enterprise and stronger faith in God. Equally vain was the argument that, if God called these men and qualified them for the work of the itinerant ministry, he would also provide the means for their support. Every applicant was shut out, and all were held over till the next Conference, though it was

officially announced that, at the next Conference, the applicants would be increased to the number of near, if not quite, one hundred. The declaration of our Lord was thus practically reversed: in his day, the harvest was great and the laborers few; in the England of the present day, the harvest seems to be small and the laborers many. And thus the Wesleyans showed themselves liberal in providing for themselves and careful in holding on to that which was provided. Equally liberal, likewise, are the Wesleyans to their Foreign Missions. But even this is liberality to themselves, and not to others. For every Wesleyan looks upon the distant mission fields of his Church just as every Englishman regards the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. They are his own; they must be supported and defended; but when he provides for them he does no more than when he provides for his own household.

It is indeed marvelous how few appeals to the Wesleyans from American Methodists have been met with any thing like liberality. And that, too, though British Methodist enterprises not unfrequently have been presented to American Methodists, and found a hearty and generous response. In view of this there can be no question that enlarged liberality—a liberality which is confined at home is not enlarged—is not a grace bestowed upon the Wesleyan body. To bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ, is the law for all Christians. The law of mutual help should govern not only Churches of the same faith and order, but it would be wise, it would be noble, it would be catholic, it would be more than Christian—it would be Christ-like—if it were shown to all sister evangelical Churches that name the name of the same Lord. If Christians of different denominations would think less of their differences, and more of what they hold in common as the essentials of a common faith, they would rejoice more in one another's successes, and aid one another more in work for one and the same Master. Hence, we rejoice in every dollar given by one Christian denomination to another. Nothing serves to bind them more closely together; nothing more effectually destroys a sectarianism which has in it more of earth than heaven. If this be true of Christians of different denominations, how much truer is it when applied to those who

are called by the same name! Every chance for help to others, when it is in our power to afford it, ought to be hailed as a privilege—as a blessed opportunity to develop that which makes us most akin to Him who came, not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Instead of treating coldly those who come to us with duly accredited commissions from sister Churches to solicit aid, let us rather bid them Godspeed, and rejoice to assist them as of the ability which God giveth. If, therefore, the Ecumenical Conference has done aught to increase enlarged Christian liberality, it has done a glorious work. And this is what we believe it has done; so confident are we of it, that we do not hesitate to set it down as one of its more important spiritual results. If it give to Wesleyan Methodism that for which it has been by no means pre-eminent, it will have accomplished a good thing. If Wesleyan Methodists be made "to abound in this grace also," that will have been added to their otherwise eminent Christian character which will give to it a fullness and roundness that will cause, through many, abundant thanksgivings to God.

And now it will be in place to notice somewhat the influence of the Ecumenical Conference upon catholicity. In the Conference there were, if I remember rightly, twenty-seven different Methodisms. Among these there were differences in Church polity. On the floor of the same Conference there were Episcopal Methodists, and there were non-Episcopal Methodists; there were ordained Bishops, and there were unordained—not ordained for special work as Bishops are—presidents and ex-presidents; and there were presiding elders of districts, and there were superintendents of the same. On the same floor there were liturgical and there were non-liturgical Methodists; there were those who use a liturgy and there were those who worship without, or according to the simplest forms. These differences had been, in the past, fruitful sources of bitterness and strife; of alienation and separation; of bigotry and intolerance. Advocates of opposing views—though they had come together in a great Ecumenical Conference, though they had greatly succeeded in burying the bitterness of past conflicts; and though they had come to hail one another as brethren beloved of the same Lord, and fellow-heirs of a common Methodist heritage—yet they still retained much of

the old feeling which claims that rather "in Jerusalem" than "in this mountain" men should worship the Father. But when it was seen what God had wrought in all parts of the world through the people called Methodists—by whatever additional distinctive name they are known, and whatever their differences in Church polity—a profound respect for one another, and a great catholicity toward all, became the universal feeling. It was seen that God had been with all, and had blessed all—episcopal and non-episcopal—liturgical and non-liturgical. There, for instance, it was manifest that if God had greatly enlarged the Episcopal Methodisms of America, he had given to the non-Episcopal Methodisms of Great Britain more converts in heathen lands than he had given to all the Episcopal Methodisms in the world. There were we more clearly taught the meaning of the Master, when, at Jacob's Well, he announced to the woman of Samaria the culminating truth of inspiration: Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, and now is, when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall men worship the Father. God is a Spirit: and the true worshipers are they—anywhere, every-where, and by whatever forms—who worship him in spirit and in truth. Into the truth and spirit of this no one had drank more freely or more deeply than John Wesley, the catholic founder of Methodism. No one, more fully than he, believed that no form of Church government or of Church service is prescribed, or proscribed, by the New Testament; and no one more fully than he was more liberal to those whose tastes and whose views of Church polity and methods of worship differed from his own. Many called by Wesley's name had not his catholicity. But at the Ecumenical Conference they drank deeper into the spirit which Wesley received from the Master. There we all were taught, as perhaps we were never taught before, that the harp of God sends forth the same divine strains, whether the delicate hands of Miriam or the manly hands of Israel's warrior king sweeps its responsive chords along; and that the true prophet of God stands confessed, whether he who speaks to us in the name and by the authority of God speaks to us arrayed in the splendid vestments of Aaron, the Lord's anointed high-priest, or in the royal robes of David, the Lord's anointed king; or whether he who thus speaks to us speaks to us wrapped in the humble

mantle of the Tishbite, or clad in the coarse raiment of camel's hair of the Baptist. Nor was this all. The various Methodisms represented on the floor of the Conference—more than ever before—were brought face to face, in the world's metropolis, with the other great evangelical Churches. We saw their work for the Master as we had never seen it; and what we saw gave to us a profounder respect for, and a greater catholicity toward, them and their work. And this respect and this catholicity, we are persuaded, were mutually and fully reciprocated. Never can Methodists forget how they were received and welcomed by other Christian Churches of Great Britain and Ireland. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, was the one confession of faith; to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love, and endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, was the one purpose of all; and that to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ, was the one common acknowledgment.

And we were more convincingly taught by the Conference in what Methodist power consists, and to what Methodist success must be ascribed. Methodist power is not in outward things; it is not in Church polity, or in any prescribed forms of worship. In these we differed; and yet, as we have seen, we all have power; we all had success. This common power and this common success lay in our doctrines of free grace, in the similarity of our usages—the class-meeting and the love-feast—and in the oneness of our Christian experience. With marvelous unity all these had been preserved by Methodists all over the world. The success of Methodism was seen, not only in the millions that Methodist preaching and Methodist usages and Methodist living had added, under God, to Methodist Churches; but in the numbers which the same things had added to our sister evangelical Churches, and in the modifications which they had made in their doctrines, in their usages, and in their Christian experience. Every delegate came away from the Ecumenical Conference more fully determined to adhere, with tenacity and unwavering faith, to our doctrines as embodied in the sermons of John Wesley and the lyrics of Charles Wesley; to our class-meetings and love-feasts; and to

our common experience of a personal and conscious acceptance with God, confirmed and sanctioned by the witness of the Spirit. To preserve the unity and purity of Wesleyan Methodism as the best means, under God, of saving sinners and spreading scriptural holiness over all the earth, was the one and fixed resolve of each and all.

Nor was the Conference without results to Methodist unity in other regards. In England, Methodism is divided into various bodies, the most important of which are the Wesleyans, the New Connection Methodists, and the Primitive Methodists. The two Methodisms last named, as well as the first, are doing a great and noble work. The New Connection is adorned by two of the purest, noblest, and ablest Methodists in the world —the venerable William Cooke, D.D., of Forest Hill, London, and Thomas Austin Bullock, LL.D., of Manchester. The Primitive Methodists, who are more like our American Methodists than any other Methodist body in England, are especially engaged in preaching the Gospel to the poor. The causes which gave rise to these two Methodisms are well known to the student of English Methodist history. Not long after Mr. Wesley's death, a party arose in the Wesleyan Conference demanding lay ordination. This was refused by the majority, who still depended for the sacraments upon the parish priests of the Church of England. Those who claimed lay ordination for themselves pleaded that Mr. Wesley had ordained lay preachers for America and Scotland; that what he had a right to do as a presbyter other presbyters had an equal right to do; that this Mr. Wesley himself fully admitted when he came to regard apostolic succession as a mere figment, and of no scriptural authority whatever. In a word, when the Conference refused, they who demanded lay ordination withdrew and set up for themselves. The Methodist New Connection was the result. The camp-meeting, and—passing strange—preaching in market-places and on the highways, was the cause of another separation from the Wesleyan body. The result was the Primitive Methodists. But that which caused the widest divergence between them and the parent body was the adoption of lay representation by the seceding Churches.

But, in process of time, the Wesleyans ordained lay preachers for themselves; and at Bradford, in 1878, they admitted lay

representation into the Conference. And thus have the chief causes of difference been providentially removed. These causes removed, there is no good reason why the three bodies should not be organically one. And this will be accomplished when the Wesleyans, for the common good, are unselfish enough to divide endowments and incomes with their poorer brethren. Upon organic union between them the Ecumenical Conference exerted a strong and persuasive influence. At all events, as one of the blessed results of the Conference, if organic union does not follow, unquestionably there will be a truer and warmer fraternity, and a more cordial co-operation. We have seen signs which lead us to hope that the former will be the result at no very distant day. Calls, we hope, similar to that which was made soon after the Ecumenical Conference adjourned, for the various British Methodisms to meet at Birmingham to consider the question of a more perfect union, will be repeated until, as the English Wesleyans and the Irish Wesleyans were lately united, all the Methodisms of Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably joined in one body.

And what we pray—what we anticipate—for British Methodists, we hope may be the result of the Ecumenical Conference to the Methodisms of the Canadas and to the Methodisms of the United States. Here, too, in America, causes which divided Methodism have been providentially put out of the way. In this we greatly rejoice, and hail it as the harbinger of more united and fraternal Methodisms in the Canadas and in the States of the American Union.

But we must not conclude this paper without a passing reference to the colored brethren who, in the Ecumenical Conference, represented their respective Churches in America. Every eye-witness will testify to the perfect harmony which was manifest between them and the delegates of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It is with gratitude that, as one of the delegates of the latter Church, the writer can bear witness to the courteous and manly acknowledgment of their indebtedness to the ministers and laymen of that Church for the Christian experience and culture which their race, in the Southern States of the United States, possessed before the late fratricidal war. In an estimate of the results of the Ecumenical Conference the impartial historian of our future Methodism

will truthfully record that among those results none, perhaps, were more important than the meeting of representative colored Methodists and representative white Southern Methodists from America in City Road Chapel, and the mutual respect and confidence which that meeting produced. We returned home from the pilgrimage to our common Mecca mutually resolved to work side by side in Southern fields for the elevation of both races, and the advancement of our common country.

And now, as the last result of the Conference which we mention, we add that we all returned to our respective Methodisms baptized anew with the Spirit of Wesley's Master and ours, and more than ever persuaded of the possibilities of Methodism. Nor was this persuasion diminished by the fact that Methodism is to-day increasing in many parts of the world—the Old and the New—in a greater ratio than at any period of its history. But the rather were we persuaded that, if Methodism be true to its great mission, before the first sun of the next century shall have arisen from his nightly bath in the waters of Oceanus, Methodism will have become the most prevalent Protestant religion of the world, and will have fully pervaded all its sister evangelical Churches with the spirit of John Wesley and the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century.

Art. IV.—JOHN KEBLE AND THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble, M.A., late Vicar of Hursley. By the Right Honorable Sir J. T. Coleridge, D.C.L.

Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. By Rev. T. Mozley, M.A. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

The Oxford Counter-Reformation. By James Anthony Froude, A.M., in his "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

Keble. By Professor J. C. Shairp, in "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy."

Mr. Mozley's gossipy "Reminiscences" of the Oxford Movement, and Mr. Froude's "Essay," have somewhat revived public interest in the distinguished writers known as "Tractarians," whose famous tracts shook the Church of England from center to circumference some fifty years ago. It has, therefore, occurred to the writer that a brief *resumé* of the events connected

with the origin and results of that movement, interwoven with a study of the life and character of one of its leaders, might not be without interest to the readers of the Quarterly.

Among the original Tractarians there was no one of them more highly esteemed than JOHN KEBLE, the author of those sacred lyrics known as "The Christian Year." Mozley pronounces him "a glory to the college," (Oriel;) "a comfort, and a stay." Of his surprisingly popular work the "Encyclopedia Britannica" says: "It contributed *equally* with the 'Tracts for the Times' to the success of the Anglo-Catholic reaction in the Church of England. In those pensive, dreamy, soothing strains we have the logic of the Oxford schools turned into rhetoric. The academic cloister and the Gothic aisle are the 'haunt and main region' of his song. The white Levitical vestment is his singing-robe, and you listen in the dim religious light to a music like the lulling chime of church bells."

The precise relations between great political and religious movements and their various causes are not easily ascertained. Hence it may be that Keble's "Christian Year" contributed *equally* with the "Tracts for the Times" to the power of the Tractarian agitation. The affirmation is easily made, but where is the proof? The churchly character of its poems does not prove it, since the church, from its altar and priestly vestments to its very floors, is, still more emphatically, the "haunt and main region" of holy George Herbert's song. Yet his influence was, and is, almost exclusively spiritual. The same may be safely affirmed of "The Christian Year" and its influence. It is, doubtless, true that its sad and mediæval tone, and its occasional and sympathetic allusions to Sacramentalist dogmas, made it a special favorite with the Oxford agitators when they began their movement, five years after its publication. But, long before their appearance as agitators, its poetical merits and its value as a help to the culture of the spiritual life had won for "The Christian Year" a warm place, not only in the regards of High-Churchmen, but also in the affections of spiritually-minded Low-Churchmen and Dissenters. It may, indeed, be fairly questioned whether any man not predisposed by his political and ecclesiastical principles was ever made a Tractarian by the study of that book. As we shall presently see, it was not aimed at any such result.

There is an idyllic beauty, not only in the lives, but also in the material surroundings of many ministers in the rural parishes of England. There are, no doubt, numerous hard, disagreeable, poverty-stricken parishes; but ideal ones are scattered in secluded vales all over that highly-favored island. These latter have their ancient church, with the village dead of many generations quietly sleeping around it in the shade of solemn yew-trees. Near by stands the moss-covered parsonage, with its ample lawn in front and its well-cultivated garden behind. Not far off is the parish school, the village street, and, in the distance, the mansions and parks of the neighboring gentry. On all sides, a charming landscape, undulating, green as emerald, fruitful, and watered by babbling streams, fills the observant eye with images which awaken feelings of pure delight. The rector, or vicar, if true to his vocation, which, alas! is not always the case, is treated by both rich and poor with the reverential respect due to a pastor, and is loved by many with the affection due from children to a father. Within such parsonages there is usually abundance, sometimes wealth, the amenities of high intellectual culture, and the still more graceful affectionateness which is the outgrowth of Christian faith. Happy, indeed, is the truly spiritual pastor whose lot is cast in such a home!

It was John Keble's fortune to spend his early life in the "sacred seclusion" of such a home. His father was Vicar of Coln, St. Aldwin's, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire. The poet was born at the latter place in 1792, and was educated by his scholarly and pious father so effectually that when he was only fourteen years and eight months old he was elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. No anecdotes of his boyhood were preserved, except the fact that his devotion to study was so voluntary and self-regulated that his father safely left him free to choose his own hours for getting his lessons. It is also said that one of his godfathers, who knew him intimately, designated him by the title of "John the Good." Hence, both intellectually and morally, "the child was father of the man."

Corpus Christi was a small college, seldom having more than twenty pupils, some of whom were resident Bachelor students. Most of its few undergraduates were, like Keble, mere boys. Their habits were inexpensive, temperate, and studious. Their

tutors were gentlemen in manners, accurate scholars, and judicious in their methods of teaching. Keble's tutor, Mr. Darnell, was a man of excellent taste, "one of the ornaments of Oxford," and admirably fitted to develop the mind and character of this shy, home-bred, home-loving, affectionate lad. Under his tuition Keble made a good record in college; albeit, though he wrote for several prizes during his undergraduateship, he was never successful. Two causes, possibly three, may be assigned for these failures: his extreme youth, his lack of public-school training, and chiefly his distraction of mind caused by the preparations necessary to his intention to try for the "first class both in classics and mathematics." In this great effort he was successful, and, in 1810, was placed in both first classes, a distinction which, up to that time, no one had earned but Sir Robert Peel. It was a great intellectual triumph for a lad of eighteen; and it led to his election, the following year, as a Probationer Fellow at Oriel College.

The development of Keble's character was greatly aided by the friendships he formed at Corpus Christi. Three of these were especially intimate, and were life lasting. These three friends—Miller, Cornish, and Dyson—were remarkable for intellectual quickness, simplicity of character, refined tastes, and warm affections. Cornish, like Keble, was reserved and shy, yet genial and humorous when in the company of his chosen associates. All of them resembled Keble in their indifference to Church honors and preferments, except so far as they might offer them fields for usefulness. These sweet and precious college friendships Keble embalmed in the following extract from a short poem he wrote on quitting the delightful associations of Corpus Christi:

> "Seat of calm delights, farewell!
> Home of my muse, and of my friends! I ne'er
> Shall see thee, but with such a gush of soul
> As flows from him who welcomes some dear face
> Lost in his childhood—yet not lost to me
> Art thou; for still my heart exults to own thee,
> And memory still, and friendship, make thee mine."

At Oriel, in 1812, Keble won two Bachelors' prizes: an unprecedented honor, achieved only twice since. The next year he was appointed examining master. In 1815 he was ordained deacon. The following year the same bishop, Jackson,

ordained him priest. It does not clearly appear that he entered this high vocation because he was especially moved thereto by the Holy Ghost; neither did he aspire to it for low, mercenary ends. To his mind it appeared as a grand sphere of usefulness, which he entered with visions of brilliant results, "inasmuch," he writes, "as the salvation of one soul is worth more than the framing the Magna Charta of a thousand worlds. . . . Can there be, even among the angels, a higher privilege, that we can form an idea of, than the power of contributing to the everlasting happiness of our neighbor?"

He does not disavow the presence of ambition among his motives for entering the clerical office. "On the contrary," he writes, "I have a great deal of ambition—too much, I think, for my profession; . . . but I think I see clearly that, as a motive to my clerical exertions, it is either wrong in itself or liable every moment to become so, and therefore I am sure I ought to keep it down as much as possible."

This is the language of a man sincerely desirous of thoroughly knowing himself, and of entering on the duties of his high office in a spirit corresponding to its spiritual dignity. He quickly demonstrated his sincerity by the manner in which he applied himself to the duties of two small curacies which he accepted immediately after his ordination as deacon. A resident near one of his churches told his biographer that after he began his work a great change took place in the village; he commenced a Sunday-school; the church was well filled. A sturdy Baptist attended, stating as a reason that he there heard the Gospel. And this resident adds, "I have myself much reason to be thankful for Mr. Keble's ministrations. Mr. Keble was outside the church what he was in it."

Early in 1818 Keble entered upon the duties of a tutor at Oriel, to which he had been appointed the preceding autumn. He had some scruples at first with respect to this exchange of parish for academic work. But he quieted them on the ground that tuition is "a species of pastoral care," and his affectionate fidelity to the religious, as well as to the intellectual, life of his pupils showed that this was no mere opiate administered to his conscience, but a valid justification of his action. Oriel, in Keble's time, had a corps of tutors equal, if not superior, to any college of the university; and Keble soon

won a high reputation among them, not for scholarship merely, but also for success in teaching, and for binding his pupils to him with the ties both of respect and of affection. In his class he is described by Mozley as a man with a beautifully formed head and wonderfully black eyes, dropping diamonds and pearls from his mouth. The impression his pure character made on the members of his college, and in the university generally, is illustrated by an incident related by Dr. Newman, who says, that as he was walking with a friend one day in High Street, Oxford, his companion startled him by eagerly crying out, "There's Keble!" Then, remarks Newman, "with what awe did I look at him!"

Newman's awe of Keble's character was not an evanescent, but an enduring, feeling. It showed itself some years later when Newman himself was elected to an Oriel Fellowship, and went to receive the congratulations of all the Fellows. "I bore it," said the future Cardinal, "till Keble took my hand, and then felt so abashed and unworthy of the honor done me, that I seemed quite desirous of sinking into the ground. His had been the first name I had heard spoken of with reverence, rather than admiration, when I came up to Oxford." These spontaneous tributes paid to the youthful tutor by Newman were rendered, not by him alone, but in a measure by all in the university who knew Keble. His scholarly attainments, his courteous, gentle manners, his unaffected humility, his affectionate spirit, and his manifestly sincere piety, were the qualities which commanded this reverential regard.

After nearly five years' service as tutor at Oriel, Keble, influenced by his high sense of filial duty, resigned his tutorship and returned to his beloved curacies, which had been served partly by his brother and partly by himself during his residence at Oxford. The death of his mother and the illness of his sisters had made him desirous of living near his venerable father's parish. The income from his small curacies, now increased to three, was only about $500 per annum. His rising reputation might have procured him a richer living. He was, in fact, offered an Archdeaconship in the West Indies with a salary of $10,000 a year; but preferred obedience to the impulses of filial love to any increase of income or Church preferment purchased at the price of residence at so great a distance

from his father's parish. And when, under the oppression caused by the death of one of his two sisters, his father's health was impaired in 1827, he became his curate, lived in his parsonage, performed his official duties, and did all that devoted affection could do to smooth the venerable vicar's pathway to the grave.

During his tutorship at Oriel, and probably before, Keble had wrought as he found opportunities on the poems which make up his "Christian Year," a work which was destined, contrary to his expectations, to secure him national celebrity, and, in fact, to make his name a household word, not only among Churchmen, for whose use it was designed, but also in unnumbered homes outside the limit of his own Church, wherever the English language is spoken. His biographer, Sir J. T. Coleridge, shows, on Keble's own authority, that it was the poet's original intention to keep "The Christian Year" in manuscript during his life-time, after the example of George Herbert, who, instead of publishing his "Temple," left it to be given to the public subsequently to his death, or to be committed to the flames, as his friend and executor, Nicholas Ferrar, might determine. Keble's purpose arose, in part, out of the modest estimate he placed upon its merits; but chiefly out of his apprehension that it might lead men to overestimate his piety. He had written its poems as, according to his "Prælections on Poetry," all who are not mere poetic artists, but born poets, must write—"because they could not help it." They expressed his own "eager feelings" which struggled within him to find vent. They were "a melody in his heart which would out, a fire in his blood which would not be suppressed." Hence he put his emotions into metrical forms which both satisfied their craving for outward expression, and "served as a veil to draw over them. For the utterance of high and tender feeling, controlled and modified by a certain reserve, is the very soul of poetry." Conscious, therefore, that his poems were not hymns fitted for public worship, but poetical meditations which were the utterances of his own inner life, he feared that the Christian public, on discovering this fact, "would, incorrectly, attribute to him a degree of saintliness far higher than he actually possessed." From such a judgment his pure, truthful, humble nature instinctively shrunk;

and to prevent it, at least during his life-time, he proposed that, if published at all, "The Christian Year" should appear as a posthumous work. His most confidential friends advised otherwise. His aged father, very naturally, desired to see it in print before he died. Yielding to these urgent persuasions, Keble finally consented to give his work to the public in 1827, but without his name. Hence it made its first appearance in the world as an anonymous publication.

Its success was immediate and eminently satisfactory both to Keble and to the small number of his friends who knew that he was its author. Though intended to be a companion to the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and, in that particular, especially adapted to the needs of devout members of that denomination, yet its harmony with universal Christian experience; its calm earnestness, its transparent sincerity, its sad yet hopeful tone, its unpretentious yet authoritative spirit, its urgent, scriptural appeals to that religious, not to say devotional, sentiment which even an evil life cannot completely expel from the human heart, commended it at once to the spiritually-minded of all sects and parties. Almost every such person who read it felt moved by it to cultivate stronger Christian feeling, to look above himself, to cherish a personal, reverential, obedient love to his Creator and Redeemer. And men of mere literary culture, who were indifferent to its religious element, admired it, not as faultless poetry of the very highest intellectual order, which it is not, but as a series of poems abounding in lines of exquisite sweetness, tenderness, and beauty, in descriptions of natural scenery often not unworthy of Wordsworth himself, and in such high poetic expressions as are the pure coinage, not of a capricious fancy, but of an imagination so exalted and penetrative as to perceive, with exceptional clearness, the analogies which really exist "between nature and spirit." These high qualities, despite its undeniable faults, sufficiently account for its sale to the number of 108,000 copies in twenty-six years immediately succeeding its publication; and for the hold it still retains, as a book of devotional poetry, on multitudes of devout minds.

Keble's intimate friends were very naturally quite profuse in their congratulations on the remarkable popularity of his book. But his sensitive mind shrunk from praise, lest it should

minister to the growth of vanity. To this fear he gave expression in his "*Lyra Innocentium*," saying,

> "And ah! to him what tenfold woe,
> Who hides so well his sin,
> Through earth he seems a saint to go,
> Yet dies impure within."

And in replying to a letter from his very dear friend, Dyson, he says of certain expressions praising his filial devotion to his deceased mother, "They please me so well at first that I am quite sure they are best not thrown in my way. I beg it of you as kindness to forbear." There is a beautiful, even saintly, sensibility to spiritual danger in this protest and in those lines. Possibly they indicate morbid feeling; yet what Christian who knows his own heart can refuse to admire the profound humility which was the root on which they grew?

The student of "The Christian Year," in whose mind Keble stands as a leader of the Tractarian movement, is surprised to find so little of the peculiar Tractarian teaching in these poems. He finds their ecclesiastical titles, borrowed from the "Calendar," to be little more than designations, often very awkward and inappropriate, of the order in which they stand. He finds the dogmas of the Sacramentalists occasionally implied, but seldom strongly expressed, never sustained by proofs or arguments. Any Churchman, never dreaming of active sympathy with the Oxford agitators, might, if sufficiently gifted, have written most of these poems. So far as Tractarians were imbued with a deeper spiritual earnestness than was then prevalent among Churchmen, they could find nourishment in these poems, but in no greater degree than the Evangelicals and Dissenters. It was possible, as Dr. Shairp reasons, that the spirit, the devout feeling, the respect for authority and for antiquity, and the repugnance to heresy characteristic of "The Christian Year," might, when "confronted with opposing tendencies and forced into a dogmatic attitude, find true expression in the Tractarian theory." But inasmuch as this work was written without foresight of that movement, and six years before it originated, the professor concludes that it "cannot be regarded as in any way" the parent of that well-meant, but, in some of its results, unfortunate, agitation which had its parentage, not from this book, but from certain parliamentary

measures of reform, as we shall presently see. Hence, a candid critic of "The Christian Year" will not associate it very decidedly with Tractarianism, but will judge it by asking, What did Keble seek to accomplish by it? and Is his work skillfully adapted to his purpose? The first question is answered by the author in his prefatory note, wherein he candidly tells the world that he wished to present "a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion as exemplified in the Prayer Book." To the second question its immediate and continued popularity is an affirmative reply; and even to-day every devout reader finds this popular verdict sustained by its influence "chiming in his heart like church bells."

Keble's authorship of "The Christian Year" did not long remain a secret. When it became publicly known he found himself a celebrity. The doors of Church preferment were then thrown open to him. One of his Oriel friends offered him the vicarage of Hursley. The Bishop of Exeter, regarding him as the most eminently good man in the Church, offered him the valuable living of Paington, in Devonshire. He declined both; not because he either despised or did not need their emoluments, but because the intensity and breadth of his filial affection still bound him, as with silken bonds, to Fairford, where he could best perform what he esteemed the sacred duty of caring for his venerable father. But, in 1831, he accepted the chair of the Poetry Professorship at Oxford, which did not compel him to quit his paternal home except at intervals. By his admirable lectures from that chair he both honored the university and increased the brilliancy of his own literary reputation.

We have now reached the period of Keble's connection with the famous Tractarian movement, which was intimately related to the political agitations that terminated in the passage of the Reform Bill extending the elective franchise, in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and in the suppression of ten Irish Protestant bishoprics in 1833. All these measures, especially the latter two, were very obnoxious to the dons and students at Oxford, who were mostly Tories, and many of whom looked upon the ruling Whigs of the day as "the forerunners of Antichrist." Keble was very deeply moved by the suppression of the bishoprics; and being appointed to preach the Summer Assize

Sermon at Oxford, in 1833, he gave utterance to his grief and to his alarm for the Church in a discourse which he subsequently published with the title of "National Apostasy." Dr. Newman says, in his "Apologia," that he has ever considered and kept the day of the publication of that sermon as the start of the religious movement of 1833. It would be folly to impeach this statement of one so intimately acquainted with the origin of the agitation of which he soon became the recognized leader. We must, therefore, concur with the opinion of Sir J. T. Coleridge in regarding John Keble as its true and primary author.

John Keble's sermon could not have become the germ of an excitement which made the Church of England rock to and fro like a fabric shaken by an earthquake but for the disturbed state of the public mind and the sad spiritual condition of that Church. She had been blind to the great opportunity to renew her spiritual life, and to gain an imperishable hold on the middle and poorer classes, offered her when John Wesley stirred the heart of England. That great man's love for the Church inclined him to turn the spiritual tides which flowed through his influence into channels adapted to raise her into a genuinely reformed Church. But she rejected him, and he created Methodism. That rejection on her part was followed by the growth of a formalism that threatened to reduce her to the condition of the Church in Sardis when the divine Head of the Church said to her, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." True, there were a faithful few among her clergy known as Evangelicals, who had caught the spirit of Methodism, of Leigh Richmond, of Cecil, of Newton, etc., and who toiled as earnestly for souls as the prevailing formalism in Episcopalian circles would permit. But these men held very liberal ecclesiastical theories, which were offensive to men of High-Church proclivities, who regarded them, not as friends, but as enemies of the Church. Froude illustrates their estimate of such with the fact, that in his brother's family the evangelical clergy were spoken of as "fellows who turned up the whites of their eyes and said, 'Lawd.'" Hence, when a few men at Oxford, like Keble, Newman, Hurrell Froude, Pusey, Rose, Palmer, etc., turned their attention to the prevailing condition of the National Church, and noted her general contemptuous indifference to the spiritual side of religion, the growth of

outspoken unbelief, and particularly the increasing irreverence for Church forms, and the rise of a disposition to favor the disestablishment of the Church, they began to look upon the Established Church as "a ship in danger of being scuttled and sunk" under the "combined attacks of liberal unbelievers, rationalists, Dissenters of every variety, and parties and schools in the Church who also had their future." To ward off this threatening catastrophe they thought it "necessary to believe more," to aim at giving the Church "a more catholic form and manner;" in a word, while retaining her general forms, to introduce into her life what Keble called "primitive notions regarding apostolical succession," etc. The *et cetera* contained, either germinally or in process of active development, their Sacramentalism, their priestly conception of the ministerial office, the confessional, absolution, the mass, symbolical vestments, and, in the cases of Newman, a few of his personal disciples, and a small band of somewhat noted clergymen, departure into the Papal Church. These, with the claim, asserted in an address of Tractarian laymen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the paramount duty of a Christian people," were the dogmas which, if made dominant in the Church, would clothe her in robes of beauty, make her "comely as Jerusalem," "and terrible as an army with banners."

Keble's relation to the Tractarian agitation now became that of an active promoter of the movement. He followed up his Assize Sermon with a proposition to form an association to promote the circulation of the notions aforesaid, by means of tracts. This proposal he urged on his personal friends, both by correspondence and conversation. The result was, that the Rev. W. Palmer and Hurrell Froude, meeting in the Common Room of Oriel, resolved to form such an association. This resolution they communicated to Keble, Rose, and Perceval. Newman was not in England at the time, and was not present, therefore, at the first meeting of these friends, at Hadleigh, in 1833. Other conferences were held at Oriel shortly after, at which Newman was present. The first result of these interviews was a circular sent to all parts of England, in the autumn of that year, defining the objects of a proposed association to "maintain pure and inviolate the doctrines, the services, and

the discipline of the Church . . . and to afford Churchmen an opportunity . . . of co-operating together on a large scale."

The excited state of the popular mind at that critical period is made obvious by the fact that, in the following February, seven thousand clergymen signed an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury, pledging their support to the primate in carrying into effect such reforms as would "tend to revive the discipline of ancient times." In still more forcible terms 250,000 lay heads of families also addressed the archbishop, declaring their adherence to the sentiments of the clerical address. Both these addresses were counterblasts from the Church, called forth, not by the circular alone, but chiefly by the hostility of High-Churchmen to those Parliamentary measures which had made Dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Churchmen political equals.

The tracts, so famous for a time, but now lost in the limbo of oblivion, were already in the field. Only four of the ninety which ultimately composed the series are attributed to Keble by his biographer. Both he and his associates wrote as their individual tastes and judgments suggested, without mutual supervision or restraint. After originating the movement, Keble naturally yielded its leadership to the more acute and practical mind of his friend Newman. Nature had not endowed him with the qualities necessary to leadership. He was too shy, too much in love with seclusion, too fond of living, as Mozley puts it, "in a calm, sweet atmosphere of his own;" too lacking in power to debate with men who held opinions opposite to his own. Mozley says: "He very soon lost his temper in discussion; . . . there was really no getting on with Keble without entire agreement, that is, submission." Besides these constitutional disqualifications, he was intellectually unfitted to guide a great practical movement. Froude says, not unjustly, that "he was not far-seeing; his mind moved in the groove of a single order of ideas. He could not place himself in the position of persons who disagreed with him, and thus he could not see the strong points of their arguments. . . . Circumstances independent of himself could alone have raised him into a leader of a party. For the more delicate functions of such an office he was constitutionally unfit."

On the other hand, Newman was a born leader of men.

Despite the vagueness of his ideas, his acknowledged indisposition to the textual study of Holy Writ, his conceit that every event, good or ill, was a special voice from Providence calling him to action, and his fanatical belief that all his public movements, including his renunciation of Protestantism and connection with the Papal Church, were directed by "special inspiration," he had many great qualities. He was an original thinker, an observer of men, an omnivorous reader, and his mind ranged over every field of thought. He was gifted with a wonderfully impressive personality. His belief in his theological creed was so real that none who heard him could either doubt his sincerity, or his indifference to the good or evil consequences which might come to him because of his utterances. In fact, he thought and spoke like one who neither knew nor cared whither his creed might lead him. Hence both his writings and preaching "pierced into the heart and mind, and there remained." Add to these qualities an uncommon degree of gentleness, and a power to always say something real and worth thinking of in conversation, and it is easy to see why this remarkable man, and not John Keble who started the movement, soon became its acknowledged leader. Had the poet stood at its helm, it would not have developed its tendency toward Romanism so quickly as it did under Newman's direction, because the poet, unlike Newman, was governed more by his intuitions and feelings than by the logic of principles. Nevertheless, the principles of the High-Church party do logically lead to Rome; but whether that party, influenced by worldly considerations and national traditions, will ignore, as Keble did, the logic of its principles and be content with the Church of England deformed into an image of Rome without its pope, or whether it will finally secede to Rome itself, it were folly to predict.

Keble's father died in 1835. This event was followed by his acceptance, a few months later, of the living of Hursley, and by his marriage. The quiet of this desirable parish and its pastoral duties delighted him. His hours of leisure he spent in working on the "Library of the Fathers," then in course of publication at the Tractarian press. But this delicious quiet was disturbed, in 1841, by the publication of Tract No. 90, written by his friend Newman. This famous tract fell like a bomb on

the National Church. Its explosion shook the Church and alarmed the nation. Its purpose was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not opposed to those dogmas and practices of the Roman Catholic Church which English Protestantism had long ago discarded; but which the High-Church party was trying to revive within its pale. "It was written," says Froude, that its author "might see whether the Church of England would tolerate Catholic doctrine." Its arguments were not easy to answer, since those articles were originally molded with a design to make the bridge from Romanism to Protestantism wide enough to permit all, except the most conscientious and bigoted Romanists, to cross from the one to the other. The wide-spread, violent storm which arose was England's reply to Newman's problem. It told him she would not as yet tolerate a Romanized Established Church. Oxford, notwithstanding the great influence of the Tractarians in her colleges, gave voice to that response by publicly censuring the tract.

Keble acted a manly part during this excitement. He had read and approved the tract before it was printed. This prior approval, instead of concealing, as he might, he openly avowed, as did his friend Pusey also. These men did nobly when they volunteered to share its odium with its author. Four years later, Newman, faithful to its principles, went over to the Papal Church, claiming that he "had reached a strong intellectual conviction that the Roman Catholic system and Christianity were convertible terms," and that his "submission of mind and heart to Rome" was given him by special revelation, and that he found in her infallible doctrinal authority a repose of faith he could not otherwise attain. Was Keble inconsistent or cowardly when he refused to follow his friend and leader to Rome? Neither. He believed in the dogmas of Newman's tract, consequently he wished to introduce certain Papal usages into the English Church, not however to lead her back to the Roman Church, but to practices which he had persuaded himself were sanctioned by the ancient Roman Church before her division into the Eastern and Western Churches. Keble had misled himself by using the writings of the early Fathers as the lights by which he studied the primitive Church. Had he viewed her in the clear light of Scripture, he would have been,

not a High, but an Evangelical, Churchman, as his deeply devout nature fitted him to be. But though thus misled, he would not go to Rome, because she had corrupted herself. Newman's going thither "was the sorrow of his life." Yet, with strange inconsistency, he would have the Establishment become as much like Rome as possible, minus her corruption and her pope. How singular was that blindness which prevented such good and great men as Keble and his associates from seeing that it was not until the ancient Church permitted her ministry to claim apostolical and sacerdotal authority that she lost her true life. That claim was the germ of Roman Catholicism.

Of the final outcome of the Oxford movement, who can say what it will be? Concerning what it has accomplished, Mr. Mozley says: "Upon the whole, the movement must be credited with the increased interest in divine things, the more reverential regard for sacred persons and places, and the freedom from mere traditional interpretation, which mark the present century in comparison with the last. The Oxford movement, unforeseen by the chief movers, and, to some extent, in spite of them, has produced a generation of ecclesiologists, ritualists, and religious poets. Whatever may be said of its priestcrafts, it has filled the land with Churchcrafts of all kinds. Has it not had some share in the restoration of biblical criticism, and in the Revision of the Authorized Version?"

These are mixed results, partly good, partly bad. Mr. Froude sees less good and more evil in its fruits than Mr. Mozley. In his view, though Newman's secession was not an immediate success in carrying many immediately over to Rome, yet the movement sowed seed which is still growing, not in the middle and lower classes, but "among people who have money enough to live upon and nothing to do." It has made Romanism a proselyting power among the upper classes, and has contributed largely to its political influence. In the Church itself it has fostered sacerdotalism, sapped Protestantism, weakened her as a political power in the realm, robbed her clergy of influence over public opinion, and encouraged the growth of doubt in the supernatural among the great body of the people. In "a ritualist English Church" Froude sees a Church "as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of

Cicero and Cæsar." Nevertheless, he is confident that "the great body of the English people, which is Protestant at heart, will never allow" the pretensions of those Romanizing Ritualists, though it may be a long time before they will find a way to suppress them.

This is, in truth, a gloomy enough outlook. But is there not a ray of light shining through the confusion caused by the clashing of Church parties, in the rising demand of large numbers of the people for disestablishment? As a spiritual body, able to provide for the religious needs of the English nation, the National Church is and always has been a failure; albeit it has produced many mighty men and achieved not a little good. Nevertheless, it has never covered the national religious need; and it never will. Its Ritualists are working on false principles, which must in the end breed corruption. Its Broad-Churchmen, though highly cultivated and intellectually strong, are more likely to lead it into a proud, profitless skepticism than to make it a mighty spiritual force. Its Evangelicals are apparently too few and feeble to reform it. Yet they, with the Dissenters, are the hope of England; and, in case of disestablishment, would probably join hands with them, sympathetically if not organically, in efforts to hold the middle and lower aristocratic classes, which contain the heart of England, true to the faith of the Gospel. Hence the growing idea of disestablishment appears as a rainbow giving promise to the reflective mind of brighter days to the Christianity of the British Isles.

After Newman's secession Keble devoted himself very closely to his parish duties, which he fondly loved; to the completion and publication of his "*Lyra Innocentium*; or, Thoughts in Verse on the Sayings and Doings of Little Children," and to writing the "Life of Bishop Wilson, of Sodor and Man," which was published in 1863. His further labors in behalf of the Tractarians were chiefly epistolary. He was constantly consulted by the more active workers among them, and much of his time was given to such correspondence. His "*Lyra Innocentium*," which was *about*, not *for*, children, gave such marked prominence to his High-Church opinions, that it failed to find general acceptance. In poetical merit it was far below "The Christian Year;" albeit his biographer claims that, if not equal to that successful work "as a whole, it is at least more

than equal in some parts, and, on the whole, worthy of its author." Professor Shairp pronounces a few of its poems fine lyrics, equal perhaps to most in "The Christian Year," but attributes its failure to "strike home to the universal heart" partly to its High-Church tone, and partly to the probable fact "that the fountain of inspiration did not flow so fully as in earlier years."

His "Life of Bishop Wilson," though exhaustive of everything touching that good man's life, and highly esteemed for its many excellences, was yet never popular. Like many other biographies it was too lengthy, and Mr. Coleridge regrets that Keble, in preparing it, did not make old Izaak Walton's spicy biographies of Herbert, Donne, etc., his models.

The latter part of Keble's life was somewhat shadowed by the frequent sicknesses of his admirable wife and by his own ill health. Hence both his parish and literary work were often interrupted by brief tours in search of health. At last, on March 29, 1866, his earthly tasks were ended, and his spirit passed into the unseen world, after bequeathing to posterity an example, not indeed of a life free from serious mistakes, but of "singular piety, of inflexible integrity, and entire indifference to what is called fame or worldly advantages."

Besides the writings already mentioned, Keble was the author of a "Metrical Version of the Psalms" and the editor of what many Churchmen esteem as the best edition of Richard Hooker's works. But his literary fame reposes not so much on any or all of his other writings, as on his "Christian Year." Mr. Froude, while conceding that this work "will always hold a high place in religious poetry," contends that it owes its extraordinary popularity to temporary and accidental circumstances, and that because it is utterly lacking in insight into the complicated problems of humanity, "and is not in sympathy with the passions which are the pulses of human life," its rhymes will not "outlive the pyramids. The qualities which have given them their immediate influence will equally forbid their immortality."

Opposed to the somewhat self-contradictory judgment of this incisive critic stands that of the acute and broad-minded Professor Shairp. He discerns, as every unbiased Christian must, that "The Christian Year" did not gain its first popularity

because Keble voiced Sacramentalism in its poems, as Froude, with only partial correctness, assumes; but because it expressed hopes and fears, joys and griefs, desires and aspirations, which are the pulses of the Christian life in universal humanity, and therefore, the professor says, "it may be expected to live on, if not in so wonderful esteem, yet widely read and deeply felt, for it makes its appeal to no temporary or accidental feelings, but mainly to that which is permanent in man. It can hardly be that it should lose its hold on the affections of English-speaking men as long as Christianity retains" its hold upon them. It is because "The Christian Year" has succeeded in conveying to the outer world some effluence of that character which his intimate friends loved and revered in Keble that, as Shairp believes, "it will not cease to hold a quite peculiar place in the affections of posterity."

Art. V.—THE WESLEYAN CONDITION OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP—ITS MODIFICATIONS.

The occasion has arisen for a review of the Wesleyan condition of Church membership, and a survey of the present terms and conditions upon which persons attain to membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In the January (1882) number of the "Southern Methodist Quarterly Review," Rev. D. C. Kelley, D.D., in an article of general excellence on the question of "Fraternity," offers, as one reason why the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not one with the Methodist Episcopal Church:

> That the addition of two questions and answers to those proposed as candidates for Church membership, in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has so changed the Church from the basis on which Christ placed it, and Mr. Wesley left it, that we find a necessity for separate existence, that we may retain the marks of a New Testament Church. The condition of admission, as we understand the New Testament, is "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." The form of reception in the Methodist Episcopal Church demands of the penitent that he shall already have a *consciousness* of pardon; and further, that he shall declare that he believes in the doctrines

of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We teach these as *duties*, but refuse to place them as conditions at the threshold of the Church—following thereby Christ and Wesley.

Again:

When we elect to defend our separate existence on the ground of vital doctrinal difference in the matter of reception into the Church, we stand on ground which is not only every way solid, but deal with a question which, in the future movements of Christianity, must become daily more a living and momentous issue.

There are other sentences in Dr. Kelley's article of a similar import, some of them containing stronger language, but these are sufficient to clearly indicate his position. It is remarkable that a writer so clear-headed and broad-minded as Dr. Kelley appears to be, after uttering sentiments of large liberality, and bravely protesting against the narrow spirit which, on the old issues, "regards one party as *always right*, and the other *always wrong*," should allow himself to take a precisely similar stand regarding the present doctrinal attitude of the two Churches. In his vigorous efforts to lead the liberal South into still greater liberality, we most heartily wish him Godspeed, and we believe that the standard which he and some of his brethren have so courageously set up will have a triumphant following in the "New South" not far hence; but at the same time we must demur to such a statement of the present ecclesiastical issue, as not only admits of a boast of Southern Methodist conservatism of right, but sharply charges the Methodist Episcopal Church with gross misapplication of a fundamental Scripture doctrine, and the utter perversion of a vital Wesleyan principle.

Dr. Kelley's understanding of the New Testament Church may be correct, and it may be decidedly incorrect. It is easy to make confident assertions respecting a particular rule of discipline among the apostles, but not easy to substantiate them by satisfactory evidence. There are points of order wherein nearly all denominations of Christendom differ, at the same time each one of them holding its own custom to be apostolical. That saving faith, as well as evangelical repentance, was a requisite of admission to membership in the New Testament Church, and that this condition was not ignored or discarded by Mr. Wesley, is our thorough conviction, though in support of it only a few considerations can here be presented. It is not

to be supposed that either Christ or his apostles practiced, held, or taught laxity of principle as to the examination of the moral and Christian character of those proposing to enter the holy communion of the visible Church. We know that proselytes to the Jewish faith were thoroughly proved and instructed prior to formal admission, and it is evident that the early Christian Church exercised a similar care.

"None in those days," Lord King says, "were hastily advanced to the higher forms of Christianity, but, according to their knowledge and merit, gradually arrived thereto."

Bishop Stillingfleet designates one principal cause "of the great flourishing of religion in the primitive times to be the strictness used by them in their admission of members."

Dr. Neander affirms:

At the beginning, when it was important that the Church should rapidly extend itself, those who confessed their belief in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Jews,) or their belief in one God, and in Jesus as the Messiah, (among the Gentiles,) were immediately baptized, as appears from the New Testament. Gradually it came to be thought necessary that those who wished to be received into the Christian Church should be subjected to a more careful preparatory instruction, and to a stricter examination. . . . The period of probation must have been determined by the different condition of individuals.

Dr. Neander's entire chapters on Baptism and the Confession of Faith in the Apostolic and Primitive Churches would be in point, had we space to produce them.

Says Dr. Henry Cowles:

The apostolic condition of membership was no other than faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. See Acts v, 14; viii, 37; xvi, 33, 34; Rom. x, 8–10; 1 John v, 1; 2 John 7–11. "*Believers* were the more added to the Lord." "If thou believest with all thine heart," etc. "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God." "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ hath not God." "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house," etc.

An examination of these passages will show: (1) That faith in Christ was made the condition of admission to the ordinances and Church fellowship. (2) That all those who had this faith were admitted. (3) That those who denied this cardinal doctrine were deemed Antichrist, and rejected. (4) That this doctrine was regarded as a test of piety of heart, as well as of purity in sentiment.

All through the New Testament Scriptures the Church is uniformly represented as the company of the *saved.* St. Paul calls it the *body of Christ,* and believers the *members* of this body. 1 Cor. xii, 27. It is Christ's bride, (Eph. v, 31, 32,) the light of the world, (Matt. v, 14,) the salt of the earth, (Matt. v, 13;) all of which indicates that the Church is to be "the true source of spiritual illumination and the instrument of salvation to the world." True members of the real Church are represented as having "come out from the world," (2 Cor. vi, 17,) "born again," (1 Pet. i, 23,) "made new creatures." 2 Cor. v, 17. Is it to be supposed that to this company of the *saved* new members were admitted without any questions as to "saving faith"? How, then, could it have been known whether the Church was being perpetuated as a company of the saved—the believing body of Christ, the shining light, the preserving salt—or only as a body of "penitents" desiring "to flee from the wrath to come"?

The rigor with which the apostles enforced discipline in the exclusion of unworthy members is strong presumptive proof that they guarded the door of admission with equal care and zeal. How stern are the apostle's precepts upon this point! John forbids even saluting a willful and incorrigible Gnostic heretic. 2 John x, 11.

Paul prohibits eating with a fornicator, a glutton, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner, who still calls himself a brother, and claims the privileges of the Church, (1 Cor. v, 9-13,) and he peremptorily requires that such an offender be put out of the Church, (v, 13,) with allusion to the injunction of the law of Moses.*

Indeed, the best inferential and positive Scripture evidence regarding the Church as Christ founded it is in support of the principle of a regenerate membership.

That the Christian Churches of whose constitution and history we have information in the New Testament were designed and founded upon the basis of a new life in their members, there can be no reasonable doubt. Those who are received into these Churches are every-where represented as holding their title to membership on the evidence that they have become true believers in Christ. Those who heard the Apostle Peter at Pentecost had their hearts penetrated with sharp pain on account of their sins; they were exhorted to change their underlying moral purpose, and be baptized upon the ground of their faith in the Lord

* Schaff's "Apostolic Church."

Jesus; and, when they had accepted this exhortation to salvation, they were in fact baptized. Those whom the Spirit of Christ at that time added daily to the Church are designated as *οἱ σωζόμενοι*, (Acts ii, 37,) those already in process of salvation. The members of the Churches are designated as "called of Jesus Christ," "called saints," (Rom. i, 6,) "sanctified in Christ," (1 Cor. i, 2,) "saints and believers in Christ Jesus," (Eph. i, 1. *Πιστοῖς* is not in this connection to be translated *faithful*, but *believing*.) He who reads with candor 1 Thess. i, 1–7, and 2 Thess. i, 1–4, cannot doubt what was the basis of membership in the earliest Christian Churches. He who has a high regard for the thought and wish of Christ as expressed in these apostolic Churches will be loath, indeed, either to take from or add to those conditions of membership upon which they were founded.*

The New Testament teaching as to the exact place of assent to creeds in the general requisitions for Church membership admits of different opinions. The best authorities concede that creeds, either verbal or written, have ever held a place in the Christian Church as aids to determine the credible proofs of true discipleship.

When Christ sent his apostles to teach all nations he enjoined upon them two things: First, "To baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and secondly, "To teach them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them." Matt. xxviii, 20. And for the same reason the ancient Church never admitted any persons to baptism (which was the ordinary door of admitting proselytes, and uniting them as members of the body of Christ) without first obliging them to do these two things: First, To make profession of the primary articles of the Christian faith; and secondly, To promise, or bind themselves by a strict engagement and vow, to live in holy ordinance to the laws and institutions of Christ.†

The apostles of our Lord were zealous preachers of sound doctrine, into which those that were added daily to the Church, having once entered, steadfastly continued. Acts ii, 42. Paul feared lest, after he had departed from Ephesus, grievous wolves might enter in among the flock, or rise up from among themselves to draw away disciples after them. Acts xx, 29, 30. In numerous places in his writings the apostle furnishes unmistakable traces of a familiar, if not a written, creed. His favorable mention of the "form of doctrine," (Rom. vi, 17,) and of the "form of sound words," (2 Tim. i, 13,) is in point.

* Professor George T. Ladd's "Principles of Church Polity," p. 194.

† Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," book xvi, chap. i, sec. 1.

The apostles evidently recognized the fact that the intellectual element necessarily enters into true and steadfast discipleship. The substance of the creed which bears their name was, doubtless, used by them in developing proofs of a Christ-like mind in all new believers.

But it is claimed that the Apostles' Creed is the only one the Church is authorized to make obligatory upon young converts. And where did the Church get authority to make that obligatory? It cannot be proved that the apostles formulated this ancient creed, still less can it be shown that they enjoined its use. The only scriptural basis for the use of a creed is the fact that the apostles made doctrinal tests conducive to the discovery, defense, and promotion of Christian character and truth. We are to imitate their example. But what is it to imitate their example? This is a point upon which much fallacy exists. It deserves examination.

To follow the example of the apostles, is not necessarily to take the words of their creed, even were we sure of obtaining them, and use them under all circumstances, but rather to construct a creed on the same principles as theirs. And what were those principles? (1) A denial of all existing and active forms of fatal error. (2) The assertion of vital points of Christian truth. (3) Making prominent faith in Christ, that being, in the circumstances of the age, no less a test of piety than of orthodoxy. Let creeds be constructed on these principles, and the apostolic example will be followed in the only rational way. Possibly the reason their creed cannot be gathered up *verbatim* is that it would invariably be used under circumstances as diverse as possible from theirs.

We would not be understood as attempting to invalidate the so-called Apostles' Creed. We hold it in the highest veneration as the most ancient creed of the Church, and an admirable summary of several fundamental doctrines. All that we claim is that its use is not scripturally enjoined, and that it is not adequate to meet the demand of all ages and circumstances. The views of Wesley and the fathers as to the place of the Apostles' Creed, and other articles of faith, in the initiatory rites of Methodism, will appear in the body of this article.

If by the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it," Dr. Kelley means the societies in England which, during Mr. Wesley's life,

scarcely constituted a separate Church, but were regarded by him as special agencies for promoting the "revival of spiritual Christianity" which he believed would pervade all existing Churches, it will not be difficult to show that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has little to boast of as a follower of our venerated founder.

The plan of this article is to show, I. Wesley's original method of receiving members; II. The condition of membership in the American Methodist Church prior to 1844; III. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church as it now stands.

I. It were folly to deny the historic fact that Mr. Wesley did not make theological opinions a condition of membership in the first organized form of Methodism. The General Rules, which were drawn up by him as a sort of bond of union among the societies, contain no dogmatic conditions of communion, and there are abundant avowals in his writings that he gloried in the doctrinal freedom of the early societies which he formed. "I still aver," he says, in his eighty-sixth year,

> I have never read or heard of, either in ancient or modern history, any other Church which builds on so broad a foundation as the Methodists do; which requires of its members no conformity, either in opinion or modes of worship, but barely this one thing—to "fear God and work righteousness."

Again:

> One circumstance is quite peculiar to the Methodists: the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever.

And again:

> I have no more right to object to a man for holding a different opinion from my own, than I have to differ with a man because he wears a wig and I wear my own hair, though I have a right to object if he shakes the powder about my eyes.

But these quotations from Mr. Wesley, if they prove any thing at all, prove too much for our Southern brethren as well as ourselves, for, as will appear farther on, they require more of a candidate for membership than "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc. The minister must be satisfied of "the

genuineness of his faith," etc. Nay, more, the candidate is brought before the congregation, and is there required to assume the obligations of Church membership.

It was natural that Mr. Wesley should boast of the freedom of his societies from dogmatic opinions, especially as contrasted with other Churches. He himself stood connected with the Established Church—a Church with doctrines and forms enough for all—and he could show that every member of that Church or any other could have entered into the work of his societies without subscribing to a new creed, or in any way compromising the old. He says of himself:

> I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England. I love her liturgy. I approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be put in execution. I do not knowingly vary from any rule of the Church, unless in those few instances where I judge, and as far as I judge, there is an absolute necessity.

Of the Methodists in general he says:

> But whether ye will hear or whether ye will forbear, we, by the grace of God, hold on our way; being ourselves still members of the Church of England, as we were from the beginning, but receiving all that love God, in every Church, as our brother, and sister, and mother. And in order *to their union with us we require no unity in opinions* or in modes of worship, but barely that they "fear God and work righteousness." . . . This is the glory of the Methodists, and of them alone! *They are themselves no particular sect or party;* but they receive those of all parties who "endeavor to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God." *

These extracts show conclusively that Mr. Wesley considered both himself and such of his followers as were previously members of the Church of England as yet doctrinally and liturgically Churchmen, and that their distinctive character as Methodists was for the one all-comprehensive purpose of saving souls and building each other up in holiness.

From this it will appear that Mr. Wesley's method of receiving members into the societies was special, and not designed for use as in a regularly constituted Church. It was for himself only. He had immediate jurisdiction over all the societies. He regarded himself as the superintendent of every circuit in the kingdom. The senior preacher was called an

* From Sermon on "The Ministerial Office," preached at Cork, May 4, 1789, less than two years prior to his death.

assistant, (to Mr. Wesley,) and the junior preachers, helpers. The plan worked well enough as operated by Mr. Wesley, but was crude in itself, and early underwent deserved modifications. Says Bishop Hedding:

> Mr. Wesley, as the venerable founder (under God) of the whole Methodist society, governed without any responsibility whatever; and the universal respect and veneration of both the preachers and the people for him made them cheerfully submit to this; nor was there ever, perhaps, a human being who used so much power better, or with a purer eye to the Redeemer's glory, than that blessed man of God.*

What was Mr. Wesley's formal method of receiving and excluding members? It was a method which he borrowed from the ancient Church:

> He issued printed tickets to the members, and small cards bearing a pointed text of Scripture, and often also a symbolical engraving: an anchor for hope; a guardian angel; a Bible encircled by a halo; Christ washing the feet of his disciples. The ticket was renewed quarterly, and dated, and inscribed with the name of the bearer. It admitted him to the love-feast, and was, in fine, *his certificate to membership in the society; and if he was unfaithful, he was dismissed by a refusal of the preacher to renew it.* †

How would such a system answer now for a Church whose preachers in charge number more than twelve thousand, of all grades of scholarship, of all ages, (mere boys in some cases having full charge,) and scattered as wide as the world? To ask the question is to answer it. In a great Church there must be such disciplinary regulation as shall secure to every member his rights, and to all members protection from designing intruders, irrespective of the capacity or experience of the officiating minister. Thus wrote Coke and Asbury: "It is manifestly our duty to fence in our society, and preserve it from intruders; otherwise we should soon become a desolate waste."

It is to our purpose to show something of the prerequisites regarded by Mr. Wesley as essential to full membership in the societies. He says:

> Nothing can be more simple, nothing more rational, than the Methodist Discipline: it is entirely founded on common sense,

* "Discourse on Discipline," p. 20.

† Stevens' "History of Methodism," vol. ii, p. 454.

particularly applying the general rules of Scripture. Any person determined to save his soul may be united (this is the only condition) with them. But this desire must be evidenced by three marks: avoiding all known sin; doing good after his power; and attending all the ordinances of God. He is then placed in such a class as is convenient for him, where he spends about an hour in the week. And the next quarter, if nothing is objected to him, he is admitted into the society; and therein he may continue as long as he continues to meet his brethren, and walks according to his profession.*

The above shows clearly that the candidate was required: (1) To give clear evidences of his desire for salvation. Mr. Wesley was not guilty of originating a disastrous and unscriptural policy of admitting into the Church every one who had merely good desires. His "previous requirement" meant a thorough repentance, a full and hearty consecration, to be demonstrated by certain exacting tokens. This evidence was demanded before any steps were taken toward admission. (2) The candidate was then received on probation and assigned to a class. What for? That the leader might inquire how his soul prospered; not only how he observed the outward rules, (he was now beyond that,) but how he grew in the knowledge and love of God. The original and great purpose of the class-meeting was to bring souls into the assurance of pardon. (3) The next quarter, (the period of probation was indefinite,) there being no objection, the probationer graduated into full membership. In all this there was careful religious oversight. Little danger of (spiritually) improper persons insinuating themselves into the societies. But nothing was said about doctrines! True; and it was unnecessary that any thing should be said. They had doctrines enough in the Church of England from which they would not and did not separate.

Mr. Wesley was not opposed to creeds. He knew that in regular Churches they were essential. He preached doctrines and defended them with the greatest earnestness. His own doings are sufficient proof of his solicitude for correct standards of faith. The English societies were not the sole objects of his care. Far across the ocean he saw other societies springing up, in circumstances quite different. Mr. Whitefield had made America a special field of labor. Souls had been melted under

* Sermon on "God's Vineyard."

his preaching like snow in thaw-time. They had run well for a time, but a "vast majority had drawn back unto perdition." And what wonder? inquires Mr. Wesley:

> It was a true saying in the ancient Church, "The soul and the body make a man; and the spirit and discipline make a Christian." But those who were more or less affected by Mr. Whitefield's preaching had no discipline at all. They had no shadow of discipline; nothing of the kind. They were formed into no societies; they had no Christian connection with each other; nor were ever taught to watch over each other's souls.*

Things were in this state when, in 1767, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, under Mr. Wesley's direction, set out for the American colonies. They labored in Philadelphia, New York, and many other places, organizing societies and introducing Christian discipline. Soon native helpers were raised up and a little Conference formed. At the first session, in 1773, the preachers formally recognized "the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists," as contained in the English Minutes, to be "the sole rule of their conduct." As time passed on, however, other regulations were adopted, until 1784, when the Methodists in America asked Mr. Wesley that their character as mere societies cease, and that they be organized into a Church.

What now did Mr. Wesley do? He sees the provinces in North America totally disjoined from the British empire. He sees that the Established Church, to which he and many of his followers in England belonged, has no jurisdiction. He sees the new societies widely scattered, with no ministers to baptize or to administer the holy communion. His scruples as to a separate Church are now at an end, and he resolves to organize a regular Church. How does he proceed? The societies already have his "General Rules," the same as in England. Are these enough? Not so. They will do in England, under the shadow of the Establishment, with her full array of doctrines and her magnificent form of ritual, but they will not suffice in America in the newly-organized Church. Going to the doctrines of the Church of England, all of which he held, to her ritual which he loved, and to her discipline which he approved, he prepares and prints an abridged Liturgy, and a

* Sermon on "The Work of God in North America."

collection of psalms and hymns. With the contents of this Liturgy we have now no concern, save as to its "Creed." What? Mr. Wesley prepare a creed for the Methodists? Even so. Separating twenty-four "Articles of Religion" from the Thirty-nine of the Church of England, he sends them by the hands of Dr. Coke, whom he had ordained as general superintendent, (authorizing him to set apart Francis Asbury to be joint superintendent,) and these, together with one additional Article pertaining to the rulers of the United States, are adopted by the special Conference of 1784 as the doctrinal standard (or one of the standards) of the American Methodist Church.

In 1789 the Articles of Religion, together with certain Doctrinal Tracts of Mr. Wesley's authorship, were incorporated in the Discipline, to which was prefixed an Address by the Bishops, in which they say: "Far from wishing you to be ignorant of our doctrines, or any part of our Discipline, we desire you to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the whole." Evidently the fathers of the Church had now come to understand the necessity of indoctrinating the membership in order to their stability as adherents to the new faith. But was belief in these doctrines made obligatory? Not directly, yet the tendency was in that direction. This brings us to our second inquiry:

II. How did persons attain to membership in the early American Methodist Church?

1. By admission on trial. On application for admission they were required to come acceptably recommended to the preacher in charge, or else to meet three or four times in class, and, in either case, evident awakening to a sense of their fallen condition was considered essential. Then the preacher who had the oversight of the circuit gave them notes of admission, and they remained on trial, prior to 1789, three months, and subsequently six months.

2. When the period of probation had expired, they received tickets, if recommended by their leader, and became full members of the society. And to prevent any complaint on the ground of ignorance of what was required of them, the rules of the society were read to them the first time they met in class.

In 1836 it was made a requisite for admission into the Church that the candidates "have been baptized." In 1840 the following was added: The candidates "shall, on examina-

tion by the minister in charge of the church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of their faith and their willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church." This important clause is still retained in the Discipline of both American Churches, but it marks a serious departure from Dr. Kelley's theory of the Wesleyan principle. It gave the administrator unquestionable authority to measure the candidate with the utmost care, both by the doctrinal standards of the Church, and the highest standard of Christian trust; and as no specific form of receiving probationers into full membership was maintained, it may safely be inferred that many of the preachers exercised their prerogative in its fullest extent.

The modification of Mr. Wesley's ticket system by the Americans is worth noting. In 1784 it was the rule to give notes to those received on trial, and quarterly tickets to those in full connection. In 1836, "Give notes to none" was changed to "Let none be admitted on trial," and "Give tickets to none" into "Let none be received into the Church." In 1784 it was the custom, in large towns, to admit new members into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. It was required of the preacher at this time that he read the names of any who were excluded; and in 1789 he was required, also quarterly, to make public the names of members received. Thus the system which Mr. Wesley considered so quiet, simple, and rational, was gradually revolutionized.

It had always been the custom of the Methodists, as soon as there were four men or women believers in any place, to put them into a band, and appoint a leader, giving him the rules of the band; and in 1784 it was made obligatory that, in large towns, persons be admitted into the bands at the quarterly love-feast following the quarterly meeting, and into the society on the Sunday following the quarterly meeting. In 1789 the names of those who had been received or excluded were ordered to be read in public once a quarter.

In order to understand the intensely searching character of the band exercises, let us refresh our minds by looking over some of the questions proposed to every one before admission:

1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?

3. Have you the witness of God's Spirit with your spirit, that you are a child of God?
4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?
6. Do you desire to be told your faults?
7. Do you desire to be told all your faults, and that plain and home?
8. Do you desire that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?
9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning you?

These and other similar questions were to be asked at the door of admission, and as often as occasion required, so that there was little danger of heresy existing in either young or old members without early detection, and still less danger of persons, "unrenewed in the spirit of their minds," either attaining to or holding the status of full membership, without at least being "cut to the quick," and having their "hearts searched to the bottom."

Be it remembered that these Band Societies were older than organized Methodism, either in America or England. The Band Rules were drawn up by Mr. Wesley in 1738, and were printed and circulated. All who were justified by faith, who knew their sins forgiven, were urged to meet in band. It was the most strict and searching form of class-meeting ever known, and shows how careful Mr. Wesley was to devise means for knowing the religious state and sentiments of all who became identified with the "revival" movement. Had these band meetings flourished, not sixty years, but down to the present time, there would be little need of searching inquiries in our ritualistic services.

The foregoing statements show that a "desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins," was not the condition of full membership in the early American Methodist Church, but simply a prerequisite to *admission on trial*. Before the candidate could be advanced to membership, he must meet in class for a stated period, and give evidence to his leader that he was a proper person to be recommended for higher favor; in other words to receive the Wesleyan ticket.

III. How are persons constituted members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? To avoid possible errors, let us quote from their own Discipline, and appeal to their own expositors

Ques. How shall members be received into the Church?

Ans. 1. When persons offer themselves for Church membership, let the preacher in charge inquire into their spiritual condition, and receive them into the Church when they have given satisfactory assurances of their desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins; and, also, of the genuineness of their faith, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church.

2. When satisfied on these points, let the minister bring the candidates before the congregation, whenever practicable, and receive them according to the prescribed form.*

Two or three things are conspicuous here: (1) No probation. Yet it was in the "Church as Mr. Wesley left it." What has become of it? It is gone. It is not an addition to, but a subtraction from, "the Church as Mr. Wesley left it." Says the Rev. Dr. J. B. M'Ferrin, in the "Christian Advocate," Nashville, of January 21, 1882:

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified the rule of admitting members into the Church as not to require six months' probation; but allows a person to be admitted at any time when judged worthy of a place in the Church. How? The person desiring membership is a "*candidate*," "having a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins." This does not entitle him to membership. He is only an *applicant*. What more? See "Discipline," etc., (as above quoted.)

(2) No recommendation by a class-leader. Yet this was required in the early American Church. Why not now? Simply because "the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has so modified," etc. The candidate is not required to be recommended as of old. What, then, is substituted? Read above, "Let the preacher in charge *inquire into their spiritual condition*," etc. The responsibility is shifted from the class-leader, and from the candidate's own record in class during probation, as in the early Church, to the local administrator of discipline. And is the preacher in charge authorized only to inquire as to the candidate's "desire to flee from the wrath to come?" etc. Nay, more than this: "and, also, of the *genuineness of their faith*, and of their willingness to keep the rules of the Church." And, evidently, it is regarded as a serious matter by our Southern brethren. Says Dr. M'Ferrin, than whom there are none in the South better qualified to pass judgment:

* "Discipline," pp. 121, 122.

The habit of receiving persons into the full fellowship of the Church upon a mere statement of the candidate that he "desires to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from his sins," without any evidence of the fact, is anti-Methodistic and anti-scriptural. What is the Church? "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same."—Article XIII.

These faithful men are not persons merely having good desires, and a fear of the wrath to come; it may be they are skeptical and profane. For one, I do not wish to see the Methodist Church crowded with impenitent and unbelieving sinners. I would take any sincere, penitent sinner as a candidate for membership; but the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, do not allow him a place in full fellowship till he comes up to the requirements of the law as found in the Discipline, and taught in God's word.

Bishop M'Tyeire makes similar observations in his "Manual of the Discipline," pp. 71, 72. "All diligence," he says, "should be used in the examination, instruction, and preparation of the candidates for the vows and relations they are to assume."

We are next concerned with the public examination of candidates for membership in the Southern Church, as it is made obligatory upon pastors to follow the "prescribed form":

Dearly beloved, you profess to have a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from your sins; you seek the fellowship of the people of God to assist you in working out your salvation; I therefore demand of you:

Do you solemnly, in the presence of God and this congregation, ratify and confirm the promise and vow of repentance, faith, and obedience, contained in the baptismal covenant?

Ans. I do, God being my helper.

Will you be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions?

Ans. I will endeavor so to do, by the help of God.*

There is only one phase of the above questions to which it is necessary to call special attention, and that is, the words "faith and obedience." In the corresponding question of our ritual there is no such specification, and this fact dulls the edge of Dr. Kelley's criticism, that we have added a question as to the experience of the candidate. Commenting editorially on this question of faith, the Nashville "Christian Advocate" says:

* "Discipline," pp. 237, 238.

The faith they must profess is the Apostles' Creed, all of which they are required steadfastly to believe. They must bind themselves to endeavor obediently to keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of life.

We know of no Church which requires a higher standard than this. Some denominations may demand that the candidate shall either profess, or give satisfactory evidence, that he is justified and born again; but they would consider such a desire as our Discipline requires to be satisfactory evidence.

Briefly stated, then, the qualifications for membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are the following. We prefer to use Dr. M'Ferrin's own words:

1. The prerequisite, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc.
2. Satisfying the minister having charge that his faith is genuine, and his spiritual condition such as to justify his reception.
3. His public confession of Christ, and the assumption of the vows of the Church.
4. The declaration of his faith. *He accepts the Articles of Religion*, the General Rules of the Church, and adopts the Apostles' Creed.

Being called upon to explain in what way candidates are required to adopt the Articles of Religion, Dr. M'Ferrin says, that though it is not

Stipulated as a condition of membership, it is clearly implied, that a man wishing to join a Church, any branch of the Church, accepts the creed of that Church. When a foreigner adopts our country as his home, and becomes naturalized, wishing to enjoy the rights of citizenship, he accepts the Constitution, and binds himself to support the laws of the nation; so, when a person seeks admission into the Church he, of course, accepts the discipline and adopts the creed of the Church with which he unites. So when the candidate comes before the congregation and assumes the vows of the Church, he promises "to be subject to the discipline of the Church, attend upon its ordinances, and support its institutions." It is further provided, that "if a member of our Church endeavors to sow dissension in any of our societies, by inveighing against either our doctrines or discipline, such person so offending shall be first reproved . . . ; and if he persist in such pernicious practices, he shall be dealt with as in case of immorality."

If I enter any society, or become connected with any organization, it is implied that I adopt the principles of that organization; otherwise I would be a spurious member.

From the foregoing it will be seen that not repentance alone, but faith, the promise of obedience, baptism, a public profession of Christ, and embracing the doctrines of the Church, are all involved in being admitted to membership in the Church South.

Dr. Kelley and others may in theory dissent from the views of Dr. M'Ferrin, but they would hardly care to state as matter of fact, before the eyes and ears of Christendom, that it is the practice of that branch of Methodism to receive new members regardless of their Christian experience, (penitence only being required,) and regardless of their doctrinal views, whether Calvinists or Arminians, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Methodists. If such is really the general practice among them, the sooner the world knows it the better. We think it is not. Hence the views above presented.

IV. The condition of membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In our "Discipline," Part I, chap. i, ¶ 31, we read:

> There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins."

But this desire, to become available, must be evinced in three ways: First, "By doing no harm," etc.; second, "By doing good," etc.; third, "By attending upon all the ordinances of God," etc. If the pastor knows the candidate to come up to this standard, he can admit him on trial at once. Otherwise, the rule is, "Let none be admitted on trial except they are well recommended by one you know, or until they have met twice or thrice in class."

The next step is specified in Part I, chap. ii, of Discipline:

> In order to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church,
>
> 1. Let no one be received into the Church until such person has been at least six months on trial, and has been recommended by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, or, where no such meeting is held, by the leader, and has been baptized, and shall, on examination by the minister in charge before the Church, give satisfactory assurances both of the correctness of his faith and of his willingness to observe and keep the rules of the Church.

This is the essential requirement of our Discipline, yet there is nothing special in it as to "conscious pardon." The penitent

candidate is received at once into the Church, just where Mr. Wesley would have placed him: he is a member on trial; he is meeting in class; he is under the care of a leader; he is being questioned as to the prosperity of his soul; he is being searched by those whose duty it is to prevent improper persons from insinuating themselves into the Church whether he is a suitable candidate; in a word, he is enjoying all the religious privileges of the Lord's house, without any special pledges whatever. No examination is required as a condition of recommendation by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, the fitness of the candidate being left to the judgment of that body. Nor is there any in the baptismal covenant, that requiring only a renunciation of "the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desire of the flesh, so that" the candidate "will not follow nor be led by them." True, the candidate must give assent to the Apostles' Creed, and promise to "obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of" his "life;" but all these obligations might be taken by a devoted seeker who had not yet come to a full assurance of personal salvation.

In all this, then, there is nothing more exacting than is found in the Discipline of our Southern brethren. And here we might rest our case, for our Discipline does not go so far as to instruct pastors to receive candidates "according to the prescribed form." There is in the Discipline a form, first published in 1864, but its use is not obligatory. It is purely a matter of taste or judgment whether preachers in charge shall use the form of ritual or originate one of their own. The only essential requirement is that they shall examine the candidate before the Church as to correctness in faith, etc. Turning, however, to the form of service, we find something more definite than in the prescribed form of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The first question relates to a ratification of the baptismal covenant. The second is very important. It reads:

> Have you saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ?
> *Ans.* I trust I have.

To this question Dr. Kelley objects as out of harmony with the character of the Church of the New Testament, and with

Methodism as John Wesley left it. To this it may be answered, (1) We have shown that the New Testament Church was a Church of the saved, and the door of admission into it was as carefully guarded as this question would imply. (2) The rules drawn by Mr. Wesley for the Band Societies admitted of questions just as searching and direct as this. (3) The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, seeks to cover the same ground by a different form of inquiry. They include in their question relating to the Baptismal Covenant the words "faith and obedience," which we omit, and Dr. M'Ferrin says that their examination (in the use of this question, we suppose) involves a "public profession of Christ."

Finally, the question is not designed to be asked at the threshold of admission, but only at the final point of graduation. The candidate has been six months in the full enjoyment of all the religious privileges of the Church. He has been pointed to Christ. He has testified to his brethren again and again. By this time he is not only conscious of pardon, but is prepared joyfully to testify to the fact before the Church and before the world. If he is not, and the question is likely to embarrass him, his probation can be extended, or, if thought proper, the question can be omitted. Its use, though general, is not compulsory. So we apprehend.

The next question of the ritual reads:

> Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?
> *Ans.* I do.

To this question the same objection is urged, and with greater apparent force. But what is there of it? (1) Like the preceding question, it is not propounded to raw candidates for admission, but to those well along in the way. It is a simple inquiry of well-matured Wesleyans, before putting upon them the final badge of the Wesleyan character, whether they accept the doctrines, so broadly Christian, which Wesley himself designated as their creed. (2) If it be urged that Wesley designed the Articles of Religion as only an indicatory standard, it may be inquired, Why, then, in eliminating from them all traces of Calvinism, did he not substitute something of his own Arminianism? Why not also include some of his own peculiar doctrines, as the Witness of the Spirit, the Sanctification of

Believers, the Possibility of Falling from Grace, and Eternal Rewards and Punishments? As only indicatory standards, these important doctrines were clearly entitled to a place in the Wesleyan creed. The truth is, that even as an obligatory standard our Articles of Religion allow of the largest possible liberality consistent with any doctrinal obligation whatever. We do not see how the preacher in charge could more satisfactorily examine candidates as to the "correctness of their faith" than to propound this simple question. It is not whether they believe the Articles themselves, but whether they believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture as set forth in the Articles, a form of question which could hardly offend any faith sufficiently correct to be evangelical. But, (3) Were this the only impediment to organic union between the two great branches of Methodism on this continent, it could probably be modified in the twinkling of an eye so as to be acceptable to all concerned. As now authorized, the question is only one of administrative form. Its use is not enjoined in the text of the Discipline. The end sought could be accomplished by other means. Dr. M'Ferrin affirms (see page 507) that the same obligation is practically involved in their form of examination. Whether so or not, the language of their Discipline, which makes the public examination obligatory, is substantially like our own.

We have endeavored in this paper to state facts of history, and to interpret them in the interests of a common Methodism. Certain points have, we think, been pretty clearly established:

1. Repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, were the requisites of admission into the New Testament Church, and constituted at that time a test both of religious experience and genuine faith.

2. Evident repentance, with salvation by faith as an ultimatum, was the condition of probationary membership in the original Wesleyan societies, while full membership followed a period of the most searching spiritual examination in the class and band meetings, and the class-leader was authorized to object to the admission of candidates if he found they walked not according to their profession.

3. The early American Church adopted the same rules, but subsequently defined the limits of probation, and added

baptism, and a public examination of candidates, as requisites of full membership.

4. The Methodist Episcopal Church retains all these features, and has adopted a ritualistic form for the reception of members which provides clearly for examination of candidates as to the correctness of both their religious and doctrinal faith as the American Discipline requires; and, though the interrogation as to creed is at variance with Mr. Wesley's sentiments touching theological opinions in the early societies, it is in rational accord with apostolic example, and is not more exacting than is required as a safeguard against the insinuating liberalism of the age.

5. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has modified the historic Methodist plan by utterly abolishing the prerequisites of probation and class-leader recommendation, and receiving directly into full membership (as Dr. Kelley maintains) all who "desire to flee from the wrath to come," etc., which was the original Wesleyan condition of probationary membership; or (as Dr. M'Ferrin maintains) all who immediately measure up to a standard quite equal to that of the Methodist Episcopal Church after six months' probation. Which of these views is in accordance with Southern Methodist practice we assume not to say, but both are departures from the landmarks of Wesley and the fathers.

The inevitable conclusion is that the imputation which called forth this paper must return to its author void. And for this he may not mourn, but rather rejoice, in that it clears the way for warmer sympathy and more earnest co-operation between two great Christian bodies. Both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, have work enough to do, and responsibility enough to bear, and defects enough at home to correct, without bringing harsh accusations against each other. There may be good grounds for remaining apart, but one ground is not because either Church has a perfect polity, or has retained the whole truth, while the other has lost the traces of her New Testament and Wesleyan character.

There is one deviation from the Wesleyan plan, however, concerning which both Churches might do well to retrace their steps, and that is in the discretionary use of the proba-

tionary principle. Our Southern brethren have dispensed with probation altogether, yet Bishop M'Tyeire's Manual (pp. 71,72) indicates a felt necessity for some such provision. Dr. J. Ditzler, of that Church, has been "turning his eye within and without," and he discovers something to be done in this direction. "Let us restore vitality to class-meetings; watch lest unconverted men get into our pulpits; rectify our ritual, for it has been tampered with, instead of improved." It is no secret that the almanac rule of probation fails to give satisfaction in our own Church. Let all Methodists go back to the Wesleyan idea, use the principle as local circumstances require, and they will then have in common a safe, just, and needful law.

It is by this method of home investigation and application that substantial fraternity is to be promoted. "Go down to the sea-shore when the tide is low and you notice a great many little muddy pools. But when the tide comes up you see the little pools are lost." Forty years ago and less the tide of sympathy between Methodism North and South was at a low ebb; but about fifteen years ago it began to turn, and is still gradually rising. It is yet too soon, however, to look over each other's lines too closely for the little muddy pools. Only let us be true to our mission as pointed out by our venerable founder, "to take care of the societies, to save as many as you can, to bring as many as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness without which they cannot see the Lord." Thus engaged in the practical and spiritual work of the Church, we shall discover, by the time the year 1900 is ushered in, that the "little muddy pools" of political, constitutional, and ritualistic differences will possibly have disappeared, and fraternity will not be in name and form only, but a glorious reality. Then, whether American Methodism is embraced in one, two, or ten branches, the world may look on and say, "Behold, how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

Art. VI.—MISSIONARY METHODS.

In a former article we gave a condensed and rapid *résumé* of the rise, growth, and present *status* of the foreign missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Very little more than the simple facts, as they appear on the surface, could be given in the space at our disposal; and yet not the facts themselves, so much as their implications, the principles they demonstrate, and the possibilities they bring into view. The practical philosophy of missions which these facts teach is, indeed, their chief value, and we accordingly resume the subject in order to consider some of these things.

Missionary work, as is often said, and as all know, is inseparable from the living Church. It has, accordingly, been in operation during all the Christian ages—modified, however, in its form and manifestations by the changes of the spirit and the methods of action prevalent in the Church at different times and among its varied conditions. Passing over unnoticed the times of the early Church and of the Middle Ages, as we come to the times of the *Renaissance*—a term that may be applied to thought and life as well as to art—we may detect signs of awakening and of quickened activity in the Church life of those times. This manifested itself among the nations of northern Europe in an unprecedented spirit of free inquiry, which brought on the Reformation, while among the Latin races it showed itself in increased zeal for the Church, and especially for the Christianization of the non-Christian world—in which movements Loyola, Ximenes, and all the Jesuits were the specially distinguished actors. While the Protestant Churches were chiefly occupied in asserting their own right to be, and the sacred privilege of private judgment, the Romish Church was pushing out its missions into some of the most distant countries, and even the Greek Church was vigorously extending itself into the remote North.

But even then there were signs of the missionary spirit in many points in Protestant Christendom, though its efforts were comparatively feeble and its field of operations narrowly circumscribed. As early as 1556 the Church at Geneva sent a company of fourteen missionaries to Brazil, but its purpose

was frustrated by the Portuguese authorities. In 1559 a mission from Sweden, under the auspices of Gustavus Vasa, was sent to Lapland, which resulted, at length, in the Christianization of that people. Early in the next century, the Dutch, having obtained a footing in Ceylon, began missionary efforts among the natives. These several efforts, though isolated and comparatively feeble, indicate the existence of the missionary spirit among the Protestant Churches, nor were their results either inconsiderable or wholly transient. But the closing years of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth, is the period usually recognized as the date of the beginning of modern missionary movements. In 1705 the King of Denmark established a mission in the Danish colony in Ceylon, at Tranquebar, of which Bartholomew Ziegenbalg was the apostle and sustaining spirit; and this, in respect to both the zeal with which it was prosecuted and the success that it achieved during its first half century, will not suffer by a comparison with those of later times, having had the services, after those of its founder, of both Schultze and Schwartz. The mission of Hans Egede to Greenland dates from this period, and also that of Carey, the pioneer of all the Baptist missions in India and Burmah. About 1810 Dr. Coke commenced his great work in the West Indies, whither he had been driven by stress of weather when on his way to Nova Scotia with a company of Wesleyan preachers; and a few years later he sailed on a like errand for Ceylon, and died on the voyage, but the work proceeded as he had purposed. The Christian Knowledge Society, which, though only incidentally so, was still really and effectively a missionary agency, was formed in 1698, and the missionary operations of the Moravians began about 1725. The Churches of New England—in which they were effectually aided and impelled by their kindred Churches at home—engaged actively and successfully, too, in evangelistic labors among the native Indians, and the conversion of the native Americans became a subject of no little interest, about this time, with English Churchmen, among the results of which were the visits of the Wesleys and their associates to Georgia—itself a colony founded for philanthropic and religious purposes, as well as with political and mercantile designs.

But the work of missions, during the whole of the eighteenth century, was compelled to struggle against great and formidable difficulties, and with but feeble and uncertain support. It was largely indebted for whatever of success it achieved to the devotion, energy, and self-sacrifice of those who engaged in it. The home Churches were simply indifferent to the whole matter, and, if the attention of their leaders was called to it, they often regarded the whole affair as visionary—not to say a presumptuous intermeddling with the affairs of Providence. To become a missionary, at that time, signified the acceptance of a life-long exile among savages, without any assured support, or even sympathy, from the home Church; and if brought into contact with Europeans, these would probably be their most potent antagonists in respect to their evangelistic labors. And yet this was the period and these the conditions that produced some of the most illustrious missionary heroes that have arisen since the times of the apostles. They seem to have acted under a special spiritual impulse in entering upon their work; and because of the completeness of their consecration, with the like renunciation of all earthly good, they appear to have entirely escaped from any possible temptation to look for either pleasure or emolument apart from their own special work. That they failed so largely to accomplish great and lasting results is readily accounted for when the newness of their positions and their own inexperience, together with their lack of facilities and the unfriendliness of their surroundings, are considered. And yet they accomplished not a little, and they laid the foundations upon which later missionary successes have been made possible.

The new era of missions very nearly agrees, in time, with the beginning and continuance of the century. The first years of the term were quite naturally devoted to making preparations for future action; and in this those occupied with the work "builded better than they knew." This was the period of the founding of most of the principal Missionary Societies of Protestant Christendom. Among these in this country we find the American Board, (1810;) the Baptist Union, (1814;) the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, (1819;) the Presbyterian Board, having before acted with the American Board, (1833;) the Protestant Episcopal Board, (1835;) American

Missionary Association, (1846.) These organizations came into existence in response to the newly-awakened religious life of the Church, and a consequent recognition of the obligation devolved upon it by the departing words of the Saviour, to make disciples of all nations, (the heathens.) The Church, in its aggregate unity, began to realize its duty in the matter, and individual believers—especially young men called to the ministry—began to feel that the words of the Master were addressed to them personally. By slow degrees, and painfully, the Church came to the conviction that this duty could not be innocently ignored; and, formally at least, though only very partially in fact, the Church now confesses her sacred obligation to give the Gospel to all men.

But, however fully the Church might have conceded her duty and sought to perform it, there were still formidable and, in many cases, impassable obstacles in the way of the work. Down to the end of the first quarter of the present century only small portions of the nations were accessible to the Gospel. China and Japan were hermetically sealed against all foreigners, and especially hostile to any thing like Christian propagandism; and India, though largely ruled by Englishmen, was carefully shut up against Christian missions. In these three great pagan empires were comprised not less than six hundred millions of souls—or more than half of the human race—all of which vast mass was, during the next half century, thrown open to the preaching of the Gospel. At the earlier date the attitude of nearly all Roman Catholic governments toward Protestantism, and especially toward Protestant missions, was intensely hostile and intolerant, while to-day the Gospel may be preached in its purity in all these countries with comparatively little interruption from their governments. Formerly it was the law—and it was sternly enforced in Turkey and other Mohammedan countries—that a Mussulman becoming a Christian should be put to death; but all that is changed, and the Moslem convert is now secure against all legal interference in his new profession. These changes are so great, and indeed wonderful—so far beyond what could have been dreamed of by the most hopeful before they came to pass—that the most active imagination can scarcely keep pace with the actual facts, so as to adequately appreciate this wide-spread

and thorough revolution which has taken place in the political and diplomatic, as well as the social and industrial, relations of the nations of the world; and in all this wonderful transformation of affairs the Protestant governments have been the principal agents, and their civilization has effectually fashioned this newly inaugurated international policy, so securing every-where the inestimably valuable privileges of religious liberty, which is to the missionary his passport and license to prosecute his evangelistic calling. That this has not been accomplished without the special and potent agency of the Divine Providence is quite manifest, so indicating that the prophetic period—the set time to favor Zion—has indeed come.

And all this appears the more wonderful when the character of the agents and agencies by which it was wrought out is considered. A more utterly godless power than was the East India Company probably the sun never shone upon, which, for the promotion of trade, became the protector and patron of the abominations of Indian idolatry; but while so engaged it was also laying the foundation for the British empire in India with its guarantees of religious liberty to all men. A more iniquitous transaction has seldom been known than that of the British Government by which the opium of India was forced upon the Chinese in opposition to the protests of the rulers of that empire; but, as an incidental result of that diabolical proceeding, China was opened to the world, so giving access to the Bible and the Christian missionary. In like manner the slave-trade, justly characterized as "the sum of all villainies," is now seen to have been overruled by the hand of God for the furtherance of the Gospel among the millions of Africa. It was not in the spirit of Christ that the ports of Japan were opened, or Italy emancipated, or the Crimean War entered upon, or our own war of rebellion inaugurated, and yet each of these is seen to have been the forerunner of the Gospel, the preparing of the way of the Lord. It has been reserved for the present generation of men personally to witness the most manifest accomplishment of the prophecies concerning the kingdom of the Son of David, the Messiah: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him; and his enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish and of

the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him. Psa. lxxii, 8–11. Science, the arts, commerce, war, diplomacy, are among the mighty agencies by which the Almighty Father is fulfilling his promise to give to his Son the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession. This has been actually done in our day; and in respect to the outward bestowment, the work is well-nigh complete. It now remains only for the spiritual Israel, the sacramental hosts, to go up and possess the land. Such is the opportunity which God has given to the missionary agencies of his Church, and in the presence of these comes the command to *go forward.*

The practical methods for prosecuting foreign missionary work, now almost universally used, while they have their advantages, and the home Churches are mostly shut up to them, often fail to bring out and utilize some of the loftiest inspirations of the missionary spirit in individuals. It has, indeed, come to be the fashion to depreciate the "romance" of this work; and yet the history of missions shows clearly that some of the best work ever done in that field has been accomplished under the influence of that specific inspiration. The visions of Loyola, of Fénelon, and of Zinzendorf were elements of real power. It was under such an impulse that Wesley crossed the Atlantic, and driven by it, as his normal condition, Coke literally gave his life to the work of converting the heathen. Carey, Judson, Marshman, Livingstone, and Henry Martin are all examples of this kind of missionary romance, to which list, also, belong our own Cox and Jason Lee, and last, but not least, William Taylor. This, however, must belong chiefly to individuals, and work out its results in personal experiences and activities; though the Church will do well to give heed to this spirit among those who devote themselves to this work, and to be careful, while restraining its excesses and regulating its impulses, not to suppress its outgoings. There is, indeed, the perpetual danger of falling into a merely perfunctory performance of routine duties in the work of missions, and to the extent that this becomes realized the secret of its power is lost. It is not every practically useful minister of the Gospel that is prepared to become a foreign missionary; for the zeal that

might avail under the favoring conditions of a pastorate among a Christian people would often prove quite insufficient in the severer exigences of missionary life. The Churches and Missionary Societies must, of course, follow out their methods of selecting and sending forth chosen young men to perform the work assigned to them, and to draw their support from those under whose auspices they are employed; and no doubt many of these have rendered valuable services, and will continue to do so. But for the highest efficiency in the work, and for the power that shall sustain the heart among the discouragements that are sure to come, other and higher inspirations are required. The Missionary Societies are doing a great and glorious work; and yet it is quite safe to affirm, that very much beyond the utmost of their doings will be needed for the conversion of the world. A higher consecration—much of specifically *soul-saving* power—a more complete self-abnegation—a deeper baptism into the spirit of Christ, than are usually found among Christian ministers, are essential to the assured success of the Gospel with the heathen.

The actual doing of missionary work among a heathen people requires a fair share of practical common sense, tact, and discretion; and because of the wholly different state of things in the new field, from those with which the missionary may be presumed to have been before acquainted, he must find or form other rules of prosecuting his work. A new and strange language is to be learned; diverse and often distasteful manners and customs must be studied; adjustments of one's self to the new conditions and environments are to be made; in short, a complete domiciliation of the man, or family, in the new position, is to be effected. It is not strange that some fail to pass early through this process of *quasi* naturalization, and find their whole stock of zeal for Christ and souls exhausted before they really enter upon their work; and, on account of the manner in which missionaries are selected, it is neither strange, nor indeed to be regretted, that this process of decimation should begin thus early, since it results in the "survival of the fittest" by a kind of "natural selection." It may possibly happen, too, that it will be assumed that until this work of preparation shall become fairly well forwarded, the intended missionary must be only a student. That this is the view actually

accepted in some cases seems to be proved by the fact that, in several recorded instances, ten or more years have elapsed before a single convert was made; while in other cases numerous conversions have been made by simply telling of Christ and his salvation through the lips of unskillful and unsympathizing interpreters. As the sole business of the missionary is to bring souls to Christ, the sooner he becomes occupied with that specific work the better will it be both for himself or for those whom he desires to benefit. Too long delaying in getting ready to begin cannot fail to be damaging to both parties —to the missionary himself by diverting his mind from his chief business, and to those to whom he comes to preach Christ by reason of their familiarity with him apart from his proper character and function. The chief and almost the exclusive business of the missionary is to persuade men to be saved; and to accomplish this by the shortest and most direct processes should be his unceasing effort and unchanging purpose. And although for this many agencies and means may be useful, the one all-important and always effective means is the contact of a warm heart with that of the half-awakened heathen.

What are the relations of the work of civilization and that of Christianization? is a question of very great interest, and one respecting which there has been much diversity of opinion, though experience has brought most minds to a lower estimate of the value of the former in promoting the latter than once prevailed. Keeping in mind the fact, that to make men Christians is the great end of missions; and accepting the further fact, now abundantly demonstrated, that not much of civilization is required in advance in order to a genuine conversion, it is readily inferred that the value of all educational and civilizing work is at best incidental and secondary, both in time and importance. The process of conversion is itself in some sense civilizing, and yet it is certainly possible that, as the Christian life may be superinduced upon an almost absolutely uncultured soul, so that life may be continued and developed into a blessed fullness with but very little aid from either learning or culture. For some of its purposes schools may be a necessity in a foreign mission; yet it may be doubted whether our missionaries, going forth from the advanced civilization of their native land, have not carried with them an undue and incorrect

estimate of the value of learning and culture as a Christianizing agency. It is well that men converted from heathenism should be told of the better modes of outward life to which their new religion tends to brings them, and aided in coming into them; but it is more than simply a doubtful policy for missionaries to bestow their labor and money simply for the better education of heathen boys and girls. After conversion, learning, judiciously imparted, may tend to Christian stability, but to the unsaved its results will in most cases be quite otherwise.

This, at least, should be true of all mission schools, that their first and foremost purpose is always to teach the simple truths of religion, with constant exhortations to personal obedience to its requirements—and especially its demands for the "new birth"—making all forms of secular learning entirely secondary and subsidiary. With a community of converts in the midst of heathenism, schools so conducted may no doubt be made to contribute to the interests of religion; but to simply educate a young heathen out of his hereditary heathenism, without his having been brought to experimentally accept Christ, is a work of very doubtful expediency. To have such schools conducted, wholly or in part, by unconverted persons, would seem to be alike absurd and pernicious—a misapplication of missionary funds and labors.

In harmony with this purely spiritual idea of the work of missions is the theory that the conversion of heathen peoples should in no proper sense be made to denationalize them. The promise respecting the extension of Christ's kingdom is that the "nations" shall be given to Christ, and this not simply in the conversion of individuals, however many, but also the nations themselves, each in its aggregate unity. At the beginning the Gospel preached among heathen peoples will naturally seem to be a foreign and alien religion, and that fact is not the least formidable of the difficulties to be overcome. But that idea should be just as rapidly as possible eliminated from the popular conception of its nature and design. The missionaries themselves should not insist too exactingly on continuing every notion and practice demanded by their home civilization, provided nothing morally excellent is required to be laid aside, and nothing at all partaking of heathenish notions or practices

is to be substituted. Probably it is found that, in fact, nearly all those social customs have a close relationship to the national idolatry, and so thoroughly are these permeated by their false and debasing systems of religion, that the Christian convert necessarily becomes widely separated from those about him, and for his spiritual safety it may seem desirable to increase rather than narrow the breach. But to this there must be a limit in respect to the things that involve nothing either moral or religious—dress, language, domestic and social life, patriotism, and purely sectional usages. When, however, any of these are clearly repugnant to Christianity, they must be openly condemned and vigorously proscribed. Accordingly no place must be allowed for *caste*, both because of its positive iniquity and its incompatibility with the exercise of Christian charity; so, too, of polygamy, and of the observance of properly idolatrous rites. It has also been deemed agreeable to the highest Christian expediency to forbid Chinese Christians to compress the feet of their female children, and Hindu parents to contract marriages for their infant children. But in all these cases it should be clearly shown that the prohibition is not in favor of the social laws of England and America, but because it is required by the spirit and the letter of the Gospel. It is, however, more than allowable that the Chinese, or Japanese, or Hindu Christians should continue to be of the people and nation of their nativity. The "world" from which they are called to separate themselves is inward and spiritual, while the best outlook for the Gospel requires the consecration, and not the cultivation, of national life.

The idea of effectually naturalizing the Gospel in non-Christian lands under missionary auspices involves the whole question of a native ministry raised up and duly instituted from among the converts themselves. It seems to have been the practice of the Apostolic Church, in whatever place a company of believers was raised up, to constitute them a church, with a proper set of office-bearers chosen from among themselves, and this was done not only in the cultivated cities of Asia and Greece, but also in semi-barbarous Crete and rude Galatia. The ruling idea, accepted apparently without debate, was that each church should order its own affairs, subject only to the advisory oversight of the apostles, and

also pay its own charges. The consolidation of the churches of whole provinces into dioceses, subject to a metropolitan superintendent, was a growth of later times, for diocesan episcopacy was unknown in the primitive Church. The practice of supporting such churches in their temporalities by some central body is wholly a modern device. Modern missionaries, who have usually been educated in colleges and theological schools, and have carried their ideas with them into foreign fields, have been very slow to believe that recently-made converts from heathenism could be safely intrusted with the high and sacred functions of the ministry. The American Board's missionaries were in India gathering their converts and multiplying churches for forty years before they ordained any of their native preachers, and at last it was done only upon the strong solicitation of a deputation from America; and in the Sandwich Islands the same reluctance was shown, though nearly the whole population had become Christian. In Tahiti the London Missionary Society's labors achieved marvels in the conversion and Christian culture of the natives, and the whole group of islands had become a Christian nation, when, in 1842, nearly fifty years after the beginning of the work, the French seized the island of Tahiti, and expelled the English missionaries. Thirty years had passed since the rulers and people had formally accepted the Christian faith, but not one native pastor had been ordained. But on the eve of their departure the missionaries ordained a number of their ablest native preachers, and committed the churches, under God, to their care. Forty years have since passed, and despite the unfriendliness of the French rulers and the intrigues of the Jesuit priests, not only has the work been maintained, but its progress has been greater than ever before. The case of Madagascar is nearly a duplicate of the preceding, with the additional considerations that the work was not so far advanced when the missionaries were expelled, and the native government itself undertook to stamp out every thing pertaining to Christianity; and yet, during the whole period of a quarter of a century of relentless and bloody persecution, the Church, under its improvised native pastors, not only survived, but multiplied its converts tenfold. These are, no doubt, extreme cases, as to both the reluctance of the missionaries to intrust to their native assistants the complete

functions of the ministry, and to constitute them pastors of the native churches, and also the marvelous success that followed the adoption of the more liberal economy. It may now be accepted as the settled policy of nearly all evangelical missions, based upon abundant evidence drawn from experience, that the early preparation and installation of a native pastorate is among the essential conditions of the largest and most enduring success.

Taught by such examples, as well as following out the genius of their own Church polity, the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church have given special care and attention to the development of a native ministry. In the Protestant countries of northern Europe all their laborers are natives. The same is true of Italy, except only that the Superintendent is an American; and in Mexico, though the mission is of quite a recent date, native converts are becoming each year a larger element in its working force. In South America, for nearly fifty years no native ministry was instituted, and comparatively little success has been achieved among the native population. But in this particular a change of policy has recently been made, with the promise of better results. In India and China the policy of employing native helpers prevailed from the beginning, and, as fast as men could be properly tested, they have been advanced to some of the more responsible positions in the work, and in nearly every case with the most satisfactory results. Such examples as are afforded in the cases of Sia Sek Ong in China, and of Zahur-ul-Huqq in India, sufficiently justify the policy of placing some of the highest responsibilities of the missionary work in native hands; and in older missions to properly heathen peoples; and, as the practical outcome of this policy, the ministry is becoming a native rather than a foreign body. All this has been brought about, not by pursuing a preconceived theory, but rather by following the plain lessons of experience and providential indications. The genius of Methodism favors the free expression of religious thoughts and feelings, and also permits all who can do so to speak freely for the edification of believers and the conviction of unbelievers, and without envying allows all the Lord's people to be prophets. Thus, from the earliest lispings of newly-made converts; telling, in halting words, but from warm

hearts, of what they had themselves experienced, some have grown to be able ministers of the New Testament, and especially mighty to exhort and persuade their fellow countrymen to receive Christ, while others in humbler positions have rendered valuable and effective service. In the matter of developing an effective native ministry among the heathen our missionaries appear to be doing a most excellent work, guarded at both extremities—here against excessive conservatism, and there against a lack of attention to personal religious character and intellectual furniture. The original economy of the Methodist itinerancy is peculiarly adapted to missionary work among non-Christian peoples. It provides for the use of all grades of available talents in Christian propagandism, beginning with the class-leader and exhorter, and advancing to the local preacher, the assistant minister, and the minister in charge of a circuit comprising many local churches, societies, and classes, by which means a central point or principal church may reach out its influence and impart its benefits to all the adjacent places, so giving them the advantage of the experience and directing wisdom of the best minds and hearts in the whole mission; and the oversight of the presiding elder of the district, made up of several contiguous churches, with their outlying circuits, brings the whole system into a compact and harmonious effectiveness of operations. If indeed the tendencies toward congregational isolation in the home churches is threatening the efficiency, if not the very existence, of the itinerancy among them, it may be hoped that the mission fields may long enjoy its inestimable benefits.

The policy of developing the organic mission Church by means of its own spiritual growth, is bringing the missionary directories face to face with the questions of autonomy and self-support. The inherent right of every church—"congregation of faithful men"—to order its own affairs, subject to the word and Spirit, and to choose their own Church relations, will not be called in question, but experience has shown that mission churches more frequently prefer a state of dependent pupilage than prematurely to ask to be left to care for themselves; and, at the same time, there is often seen a reluctance and distrust as to the ability of such churches to care for themselves. There is, however, but little room to doubt that the best interests of

all parties call for the gradual and not too tardy loosening of the cords which bind the churches in foreign lands to those from which they had received the Gospel; while, as soon as the former can stand alone, an entire governmental separation is desirable; and in respect to the pecuniary assistance given and received, it is quite as likely to be overdone as to be unduly limited. So long as foreign missionaries are kept in the field, charged with a supervisory authority, it would seem only right that they should derive their maintenance from those whom they represent, and these should be an ever-diminishing, rather than increasing, company; but native preachers and pastors should chiefly draw their support from those whom they serve. There are, no doubt, advantages that can be gained only by supplies of men and money from the home Church; but there are also disadvantages arising out of this policy, especially in its tendency to lower the moral stamina of the recipients, and to diminish the manhood and hinder the growth of the best forms of Christian heroism. When to give, and when to withhold, and in what manner in either case, are questions not always easy to be answered, since they are qualified by numerous conditions which cannot, in some cases, be fully understood. It may, however, be accepted, that other reasons than lack of ability in the giver may properly limit the amounts bestowed. The sums of money appropriated from the home treasury are not a just measure of the probable productiveness of any foreign mission; and the examples of Madagascar, and of Tahiti and others of the South Sea Islands, show that a mission, once firmly established, will continue to live and grow without foreign aid, even under the iron heel of persecution. While there is no evidence to justify the intimations, sometimes heard, that missionaries have an easy life of it, and are more careful for themselves than for those whom they profess to care for; nor yet of the still viler charges, that professed converts become such chiefly from mercenary motives; it nevertheless may be that the opposite virtues would be better promoted by a less intimate connection of the foreign and the home Churches.

That it may not be advisable to slavishly follow out any theory in the government and work of foreign missions, but instead, to accept the lessons of experience, is among the plainest dictates of practical wisdom; and these lessons we have, in all needed

fullness and clearness, in respect to some particulars of the highest importance and the widest application. Among these may be named, as tested principles, always to be aimed at—decentralization, autonomy, and self-dependence. Each of these are, indeed, a form of manifestation of the same principle—the development and localization of the Christian life, with all its essential conditions, among the churches formed in heathendom. The adaptability of Methodism, as to both its spirit and its forms, to such churches is also clearly attested, and the maintenance and perpetuation among them of all the essentials of Methodism should be carefully looked after; and to do this effectively, and to the best interests of those chiefly concerned, their local Methodism must be permitted to adapt itself, in its accidents, to the laws, institutions, and the social and domestic life of the people in each country. An ecumenical Methodism is, happily, an impossibility, and any attempt toward its realization could only work harm; and, as its alternative, a national Methodism for each nationality, among which our form of Christianity shall be naturalized, is a necessity in order to its proper and successful development. National manners and customs, as such, and where they involve no sinful complicity with any false religion, instead of being antagonized, should be respected, and the institutions of the Gospel interwoven among them. Each people has its own modes of thought and specific conceptions of spiritual truths, into which the sublime ideas of the Gospel must enter in order to become a life-giving power; and these forms of thought and modes of life will modify the expressions and formal developments of the Christian life, and of these differences there should be a due recognition in all the outward arrangements of the national Methodism. The Bible goes in its completeness to all nations as the sole and sufficient rule of faith and duty, and because it is in its very nature a universal book; but our Church creeds and rituals, and even our methods of conceiving of and stating Christian doctrines, and of coming at Christian experience, are not in their details identical with the same things as they would be developed and crystallized in the spiritual consciousness of men of other nationalities; and these considerations suggest the propriety of allowing and, indeed, of forming those national differences, and, as far as it may be well and

wisely done, of molding the ecclesiastical polity and institutions of each nationality in harmony with the instincts of the people, and especially of embodying the great truths of revelation into their mental conceptions and religious consciousness. The spirit and life of our theology must be preserved in all its fullness and power, but in order to that end its accidents and local peculiarities should not be too tenaciously adhered to. We have our twenty-five "Articles of Religion," but scarcely half of them are properly theological, and some of these are expressed in apologetical or polemical forms, growing out of their historical development, which could not be appreciated by those who are not familiar with the conditions through which they came into their present shapes. Why, then, should these forms be imposed upon our Christian converts from heathenism? Our "General Rules" have many confessed excellences, but they are only a very small part of a system of practical morality, often descending to local and accidental details, which among ourselves have become antiquated, and which must sound very strangely among the antipodes. Let us, therefore, give them, then, a local, and not a foreign, Methodism.

The probable future of evangelical missions is among the most deeply interesting problems of the age, having also the most tremendous bearings upon questions of theology and biblical interpretation of sociology, and the commonwealth of nations; and, indeed, of the destiny of the race. In the light of the experience of the current century, the progress actually made from very small beginnings, the awakening of evangelical Christendom to a sense of its duty in the matter and of the vastness of the opportunity, the clear indications of the divine will made by the workings of the Spirit, and the orderings of providences, we may see clear indications of possibilities and prospects of the most glowing and assuring character. The Messianic Psalms read in the light of these things appear to be transformed into the records of our times, and some of the grandest visions of the Apocalypse seem to be realized in our sight. Computing the progress of the future, with its enlarged facilities, by that of the past, one may readily reckon up the years that will be required to literally accomplish the divine command to "preach the Gospel to every creature,"

and even the most sober and thoughtful cannot fail to detect in the events of the age most remarkable indications of the coming of great and far-reaching changes in the affairs of the world. The colossal proportions attained by British commerce and diplomacy, the proximate universality of free thought and of its best vehicle—the English language—the appliances in use for the world-wide diffusion of the Gospel by railroads, steam-ships, and telegraphs, and the polyglottal printing-press, all unite to raise the highest hopes for the speedy Christianization of the whole world. The duty of obedience to Christ's parting commandment to "go, teach all nations," remains the same whether in darkness or in light; but to those who have toiled long and wearily in darkness the coming of the dawn cannot but be cheering; and since God is so strangely opening the way for the spread of the Gospel among all nations, the Church is called upon, not only to rejoice in the promises given, but to go forward in assured expectation that the promised day of triumph draws near.

To sober our too sanguine hopes, it may be told us that the Roman Catholic missions of the seventeenth century presented very high promises of success, and in fact showed an inventory of successes actually achieved even greater than any that can be shown by the Protestant missions of the nineteenth. It is known that they baptized tens of thousands of nominal converts in India; that the proselytes made in China and Japan were counted by hundreds of thousands, and that large portions of what is now our own national territory was originally occupied by the Jesuits from Montreal; and yet all these great and promising beginnings were followed by disaster and almost entire failure. At the beginning of the present century nearly the whole of these results had disappeared. Does a similar fate await our Protestant missions? and if not, why not? The Roman Catholic faith has not, in any modern instance, succeeded among any heathen people, except as it has been sustained, and indeed forced upon the people, by the civil power. Their work of conversion stops short of any real transformation of character, and the baptized heathen remained a heathen still, with only an additional fetich and another idol in his pantheon. Without the power of the sword there was no power over the heathen rulers who, jealous of their authority,

maintained their ancestral customs, and resented and punished with expulsion or death those who were attempting to supersede them in their authority. The decay and final failure of those Roman Catholic missions were clearly owing to these two causes, both of which Protestant missionaries have been especially careful to guard against. Their converts were Christians only in name and form, for Xavier himself confessed that there was no improvement in the lives of the converts of the Portuguese missions in Ceylon, and that he had but little hopes of the salvation of any of them, except those who died before they had lost the sanctity received in their baptism; whereas the chief dependence of Protestants for the perpetuation of their work is in the transformation of the characters of their converts. It is often said that in some of our foreign fields whole villages or tribes come to the missionaries and profess their desire to become Christians, and ask for baptism, which, of course, is not granted without proper evidence of a real and spiritual conversion. To become a Christian on such conditions in any heathen community is therefore a very serious matter, which will be undertaken and persevered in only under deep convictions, and, when so undertaken, with the accompaniment of a newly-begotten religious life, the work may be expected to abide, even should it be tried in the fires of persecution. That it can do so has been proved in the cases before referred to in Tahiti and Madagascar.

The genius and spirit of Protestant missions, by forbidding them to become complicated in any political intrigues, and by teaching them to inculcate peaceful subjection to the established political authority, is the best possible guarantee against political proscription. As political rulers come to understand that Christianity is not a revolutionary power, in respect to politics and dynasties, but that it every-where inculcates due subjection to authority, it will secure the favor and protection of the civil rulers. That fact, together with the influence of commerce and diplomacy in favor of religious liberty, and greater still, the liberalizing influence of the spirit of the age, seem to afford a sufficient assurance that the Protestant Churches that have been or may be planted in heathen lands will not be ruthlessly crushed out by the hand of persecution.

It would lead us beyond our limits should we attempt to

discuss the special and distinctive character of the Christian Church as it may be developed by missions among the heathen; and yet a few passing remarks may be ventured. There is ground to believe that the Church so formed will possess some conditions of advantage over most of the Churches of Protestant Christendom. Nearly seventy years ago that wonderful preacher of the Gospel, Rev. Robert Hall, in delivering the charge to a young minister about to go forth as a missionary to India, used language that has lost none of its fitness or adaptation by the lapse of time. He exhorted the prospective missionary to seek to have his mind and heart in the closest sympathy with the spirit and substance of Christian truth, without very closely insisting upon any of its specifical forms as taught in the schools of doctrine. His words are: "Among the indirect benefits which may be expected to arise from missions, we may be allowed to anticipate a more pure, simple, apostolical mode of presenting the Gospel, which it may be doubted whether any of the various denominations under which the followers of Christ have been classed have exhibited precisely as he and his apostles taught. In consequence of the collisions, of disputes, and the hostile aspects which rival sects bear to each other, they are scarcely in a situation to investigate truth with perfect impartiality. Few or none of them have derived their sentiment purely from the sacred oracles as the result of independent inquiry; but almost universally from some distinguished leader who, at the commencement of the Reformation, formed his faith and planned his discipline amid the heat and fury of theological combat. Terms have been invented for the purpose of excluding error, or more accurately defining the truth, to which the New Testament is a stranger, and on those terms associations and impressions are ingrafted which, in some instances, perhaps, little correspond to the divine simplicity of the Gospel."

These words, uttered at first in warning, have since become prophetic of a better day, which is already in part fulfilled. The implied censure of the theological thinking of Protestant Christendom has come to have less cause for its use than formerly, but still it is not wholly uncalled for, but the theology of the more fully developed foreign missions is evidently an improvement by reason of its nearer conformity to scriptural

statements, and its greater breadth and simplicity, its spirituality and catholicity. And as the artificial landmarks that at home divide the various schools of theological thought sink out of sight when Christians of different family names stand together in the presence of the overshadowing forms of falsehood and unbelief, so in that position ecclesiastical lines of demarkation lose very much of their value and significance. It is scarcely to be hoped—perhaps it is not desirable—that all denominational differences should be ignored, and the several missions fused into a common mass; but surely it is not wise to reproduce in foreign lands all the petty feuds or historical divisions that have given rise to many of our denominations, most of which are represented in the mission fields. It would not be edifying to converts from heathenism to be confronted at their coming into the fellowship of the Church with the sixteen kinds of Presbyterians, or the half as many of Methodists. In this matter something of the fusing power of true religion, directed by a fair share of common sense, might be practically useful. When the Methodisms of our foreign mission fields shall become locally individualized, it may be hoped that they will also be consolidated into a common mass.

Art. VII.—POPULAR AND PERILOUS DRIFTINGS.

Could some influence appear potent and persuasive enough to draw the half of all young people into thorough acquaintance, by actual labor, with different branches of agriculture, (whatever business or profession they might follow in after life,) and lead the other moiety of our sons and daughters to become, after full apprenticeship, skilled artisans, such influence would grandly restore to the land physical soundness, moral integrity, and prosperities richer and wider than can be well imagined. Nor would such lives of early discipline and every-day work at all prevent (in my opinion) the noblest achievements by every generation in science, literature, and art.

Unhappily, the prevailing sentiment of society, and the average training in excellent families, tend in very different directions. Insomuch that the popular currents are drifting

widely away from lives of frugal industry, from the labor of producers, from vigorous health,* and from the virtuous simplicity and solid home-content of other days. These downward driftings not only result in enormous material waste and mischief, but are, as I judge, undermining public morality and the safety of the State.

Note 1. *Driftings of Population from rural districts to crowded centers.* It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that in 1850 the population of cities and large towns throughout the Republic was but 23 per cent. of the whole; that is, 3,131,675. In 1870 these large centers contained 31 per cent., or 7,841,950; and in the national census, just completing, our three hundred cities will probably number 40 per cent. of the entire people of the Union. New York State census gives as the increase of rural population from 1865 to 1875, 28,082; increase in cities and villages during the same decade, 843,000—thirty times as many.

Not to overlook the fact that cities contain many noble, princely philanthropists, and very many devoted Christian men and women, still, the best thing we can say is, "Cities contain much that we love, and all that we hate." They are vast mission fields. They are centers of expensive luxury; the restless and the dissatisfied naturally drift there. The daringly ambitious, those who live by excitements and would dwell in a crowd, seek such homes. Cities are always chief nurseries of sensualism, and hiding-places of every crime.

A broader view of this drifting of populations is seen by taking census reports of *cities* in six States, as compared with the *rural* districts in those States, for the twenty years ending with 1870:

In Massachusetts,	City population increased	82	per cent.	Country, 29	per cent.
New York,	"	108	"	15	"
Pennsylvania,	"	120	"	10	"
Ohio,	"	108	"	11	"
Indiana,	"	540	"	58	"
Illinois,	"	579	"	166	"

Among the results of this drifting, through large portions of New England and New York are: Gradual disappearance of

* The last State census instructs us that births in native-born families, as compared with births in foreign-born, are as *nine* to *eleven*. That the death-rate yearly of native-born Americans is 1 in 88; while the death-rate of our people born in Canada, Scotland, Germany, is only 1 in 125.

moderate farmers, the best strength and surest reliance of a free State, the gathering of large masses of land into one holding,* and the multiplying all about us into controlling power a foreign-born tenantry, seldom friendly to Christian Sabbaths, free schools, temperance, and Protestant freedom.

It is but a few years since that great British commoner, John Bright, sought to awaken his countrymen to the mistake and danger of crowding into cities, instead of spreading among the rural districts, and to the neglect of agriculture. His advice was, "Go back to the land." And the time has fully come when voices in high places of our country, giving the same earnest advice, should be heard. For if these driftings continue the twenty years to come, as during the twenty years past, (certainly, unless there shall be wide and thorough cure of drinking habits and suppression of liquor traffic,) the gathered masses of incurable poverty, lawlessness, and desperate crime in our cities will be beyond control of any civil power in the land.

Note 2. *Driftings away from Productive Industries to genteel employments and well-paid sinecures.* The great body of young people, including those of prudent families, even, grow up with utter aversion to the most ancient and honored employment of tilling the soil, or to making themselves proficient in the essential handicrafts. Very few children of American parents are apprenticed to become skilled mechanics, as they were fifty years ago. While the numbers who devote themselves for a living to speculations, wandering agencies, and scurvy politics, are legion. As a consequence, society is every-where pressed beyond measure with a host of

* The greed for land is like the greed for gold; and schemes of the rich to monopolize all desirable localities, choicest sections of the soil every-where, (which Congress ought long ago to have forbidden as to public lands, and measurably prevented,) have already become a serious evil, even with our vast and thinly-settled territories; more so in the new States, of course, than in the older. Hundreds and thousands of immense farms are being caught up, of 500, 1,000, 10,000, 20,000, and even 50,000 acres, notwithstanding legislators can be hardly supposed ignorant of the truth, that mischief to the Republic, and grave injuries to the people, come soon or later through the ownership of large masses of land in the hands of a few families. The Roman historian, Pliny, does not hesitate to declare that great estates had ruined his country: "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam.*"

superfluous and expensive members.* The professions of law, medicine, insurance, merchandising, are twice filled. Every position of clerk, salesman, book-keeper, common-school teacher, commercial traveler, or other opening to light and well-dressed employment is watched and waited for by scores of hopeless applicants.

The following extract from the "Scientific American" is a specimen fact of hundreds that might be gathered:

A large shoe manufacturer of this State, not long since, advertised widely for twenty-five shoe-fitters to work in his factory, offering full current rates and steady work. The advertisements brought one application. About the same time a Boston firm advertised for a book-keeper, and the next day's mails brought two hundred and thirty answers. During the same month an advertisement for a clerk in a Detroit paper brought one hundred and twenty applications, and more afterward. An advertisement for a week in the same city for a good carpenter brought only four replies.

What the country wants now is *work*men—sober, intelligent, thrifty workmen, who can do skillfully the work that waits for the doing. Men who can invent new means and better processes for developing the resources of the land, and for converting crude matter into life-sustaining and life-enriching wealth. Clerks and record-keepers are at a discount; there are too many. The professions, so called, are almost equally crowded with men who have nothing to do. There never was a time when ability to *do* something real and practical was worth so much as now. †

This extract following, addressed some years since to the men of New England, is severe, but contains weighty and wholesome truth:

* There is an admonition in Holy Scripture ending thus: "Behold this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hands of the poor and needy." That is, the cities of the plain lived in luxurious and sensual ease, leaving many to want and suffer by the side of the very rich; neither did their rulers protect or redress the wrongs of the weak and poor.

One who loves his country can but shrink from declaring how far all this is a picture of the favored and large classes in American life.

† It is stated in the public prints that A. Oakey Hall, of New York City, (formerly a leading politician,) when rich, and there was no apparent need in his family, did the creditable thing of training his three daughters to three different mechanical trades. He is reported to have said: "If German and French princes are taught trades in case of change or misfortune, why not my children?" Mr. Hall is now understood to be poor, but his children are comfortably provided for, independent.

Young men, on entering active life, find the way to lucrative employments blocked by abuses. The conduct of trade is grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders, if not beyond the borders, of fraud. The trail of the serpent reaches into all the lucrative professions and business practices of men. . . . Considerations of this kind have turned the attention of many philanthropists and thoughtful parents to the claims of manual labor as part of the education of every young person. If accumulated wealth is thus tainted, no matter how much of it is offered to us, we must consider if it were not the nobler part to renounce it, and put ourselves into primary relations with the soil and nature; and, abstaining from whatever is dishonest and unclean in each, take up bravely his part, with his own hands, in the manual labor of the world.

Note 3. *Driftings into Debt.* We all know that there is immense wealth, not only in New York, but throughout New England and the Middle States. No doubt there are ten men in our metropolis who could easily pay the municipal and corporate indebtedness of the whole State, should this amount to three hundred millions of dollars. And there are also ten men in each of our large cities who could, in thirty days, discharge what may be called the public debts of city and county, (running into millions,) and remain possessed of ample wealth. This opulence of the few may be substantially affirmed of very many cities and towns. Still, the great middle class—the farmers, manufacturers, mechanics, the working men and women—are resting under mountain loads of debt. Nor has the immense losses by shrinkage of values, waste through bankruptcies, and moral injuries, that came upon the land from 1870 to 1877, cured its extravagance, wild speculations, or mania for going in debt.

The truth is, our country's financial affairs are fast drifting into Old-World conditions. A few persons of unlimited wealth monopolize the great indusfries of the State; are sure to gain possession of every new enterprise of profit, thus subjecting the masses to a deepening dependence on their will, (excepting, indeed, those who work their own farms;) they hold public men in such bondage as often to control the government; and have already brought affairs to a pass that half a dozen men in Wall Street and Chicago combine and go far in compelling millions to pay *their* prices for bread to eat and fuel to warm.

The State debt, proper, of New York is but a few millions

—less than eight. Our national war debt is now sixteen hundred millions of dollars. The country owes Europe (chiefly England) several hundred millions for borrowed money, merchandise, and luxuries. And it is noteworthy, that by as much as the war debt is being diminished through present large revenues, even more are the heavy importations of foreign goods increasing our debts abroad.

Municipal and bonded indebtedness of the twenty-eight cities of New York may be set down at two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Census reports make the total bonded obligations of three hundred cities, in all the States, five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars.

But embarrassing debts are every-where. Farming towns and small villages are in many cases heavily bonded. The higher institutions of learning and associations of benevolence are, most of them, crippled and incessantly begging for relief. Hundreds of Christian churches have been deeply dishonored by debts mainly incurred for costly edifices. And how many ten thousands of farmers there are whose homesteads are hopelessly involved, we can but guess.

It is not forgotten that during the past two years very many millions of public and private debts have been paid. But even these obligations have been, in part, only *shifted* from societies, institutions, corporations, to the shoulders of generous men, whose subscriptions and notes, in *final discharge* of debts, are yet to be paid through installments of successive years.

There are two serious facts respecting public debts and long-time bonds that do not seem to have been well considered, namely:

First, that about one third of the population do the work, pay the taxes, and provide the charities of the whole State. Allowing one third of all the people to be found in helpless and dependent childhood, with the very aged poor and other classes of incurable destitution, there remains, as what may be called *the working force* of the State of New York, three and a quarter millions. But, according to the last State census, "Persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and of all ages," are scarcely so many as seventeen hundred thousand, leaving above a million and a half who, it would seem, ought to support themselves, as visibly earning nothing, and owning

nothing.* This will be an improbable statement to some; but it is substantially confirmed in the "National Census Reports," just now completed, as Mr. Shackleford, of North Carolina, showed on the floor of Congress, last winter. Only one half the working force of a State, according to official data, have any occupation, or earn any thing! It will certainly be in the thought of many that schools of learning, Christian churches, and eminent civilians, ought to secure a more hopeful standard of civilization than this.

A second fact, too little thought of by taxpayers, is the amount of money required to pay bonds running many years, with annual or semi-annual interest. Such debts grow double with unthought-of rapidity. To illustrate: there are small cities in New York—and many, if we are rightly informed, at the West—heavily bonded, generally for railways. I know of one such city, bonded for half a million in thirty-year bonds, bearing seven per cent. semi-annual interest. These, at the end of ten years, will practically cost the people a million; at the end of twenty years, two millions; at maturity, or in thirty years, the bonds will have cost taxpayers four millions of dollars!

The three hundred and odd cities of the republic are reported as having bonded debts to the amount of five hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars. If these run, on an average, twenty years, with six per cent. annual interest, (which is a fair probability,) they will actually cost the people little short of two thousand millions of dollars!

* The following summary is based upon the detailed facts of official Census Reports, and is, no doubt, approximately the truth. Population of New York, 5,000,000. Children under twelve, and persons over seventy years, 30 to 35 per cent. This leaves a working population of at least 3,250,000. Of these, farmers and farm laborers are not quite 450,000; manufacturers and mechanics, nearly 600,000; in trade and transportation, 350,000; in personal service, say 250,000; the four learned professions and public-school teachers, 50,000 to 60,000. This aggregates, in round numbers, (to use the official language,) as "persons engaged in all occupations, of both sexes and all ages," 1,700,000; and, making liberal allowance for the dangerously sick, the deranged, blind, idiotic, and imprisoned felons, leaves 1,500,000 in the State who, so far as census officers can discover, have somehow a free ticket through life at the expense of others.

Another consideration, evidencing that the great middle classes support society and the government, is found in the fact that taxation is so arranged as to compel real estate to pay above 80 per cent. of the whole; while personal property, money, stocks, bonds, and other investments of hoarded wealth, pay but a fraction of what they ought.

Note 4. *Driftings into Crime.* The commission and spread of crime are far more largely traceable to want in early years of frugal, steady work, of some thorough trade-education, than has been generally understood. It is not so much ignorance in school learning that ripens depravity into theft, robbery, and murder, as many suppose; and though the influence of strong drink in exciting to the worst deeds is very great, still it is not clear but that lack of early habits of industry, and thorough acquaintance with some useful business or trade, is the ruin of as many as any other one cause.*

The following statistics from the "Christian Union" of October, 1878, are admonitory and striking:

> Of 408 convicts in the Michigan State-Prison, seventy-two per cent. are, or were, addicted to the use of liquor; but sixty-two per cent. had no trade. Of 489 prisoners in an Iowa penitentiary 305 are without any trade education. In Minnesota prison are 235 convicts; at least 130 of them never learned any business. In the large State-prison of Illinois, of 1,500 criminals, one third had no regular occupation before commitment. In the Penitentiary of Western Pennsylvania are 396 convicts, of whom 310 never learned a trade, but sixty-two per cent. of whom were addicted to liquor drinking.

In the year ending November, 1881, there were sentenced to Onondaga Penitentiary, from this and neighboring counties, 995 criminals. Of these, 120 were from twenty different mechanical trades: while of "laborers, domestics, tramps, hostlers, and boatmen," there were 674. I think this a fair representation of the convicts of all State-prisons. The New York Board of State Charities says:

> By far the greater part of convicted criminals have never been educated in any branch of useful industry. They hence enter the competitions of life at a disadvantage—inferior or incapable—and must occupy the avenues which are already filled, while there is room enough for those who, by thorough apprenticeship, possess professional or mechanical skill. In the struggles for livelihood these others are pushed empty-handed to the wall, left without employment, without money, having no alternative but to beg or steal.

* A New England pastor sought, not long since, to ascertain and to make known what kind of early training furnishes the most prosperous and honored men. To this end he carefully inquired into the early lives of *eighty-eight* prominent business men in and near Springfield, Mass. It was found that *seventy-four* of these had been brought up poor, in hard work, and most of them on farms.

The person who has no trade, thorough early acquaintance with some business that brings honest bread, lives frequently by choice in idleness. Not taught to work in youth, he will not submit to the restraints of steady labor in riper years. And where do such almost inevitably drift but into places of drink and gambling, into companionship with vagabonds and felons?

In the preceding paper I am not sure but that incidental statistical errors and partial reasonings may be found; though pains have been taken to keep quite within lines of ascertained truth. However this may be, the reader can safely conclude that there is given a substantially just outline of our present type of civilization; and it will not be doubted that this whole subject deserves the profound consideration of philanthropists and statesmen, and the very serious study of all who are intrusted with the guardianship and training of sons or daughters.

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, April, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. The Hill Tribes of India; by Prof. John Avery. 2. Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language; by Horatio Hale. 3. Native Races of Colombia, S. A.; by E. G. Barney. 4. The Somme Implememts, and Some Others; by S. F. Walker. 5. The Potlatches of Puget Sound; by M. Eells. 6. Mythology of the Dakotas; by S. R. Riggs. 7. Village Habitations; by S. D. Peet, Editor. 8. Specimen of the Chumeto Language; by A. S. Gatschet. 9. Relics in Maine; by Charles B. Wilson. 10. Editorial—Idols and Portraits.

Baptist Quarterly Review, April, May, June, 1883. (Cincinnati.)—1. Some Phases of Theology in the "Paradise Lost;" by W. H. Stifler, M.D. 2. Some Impressions of Swedenborg; by W. N. Clarke, D.D. 3. Liberty and Toleration; by Rev. P. S. Evans. 4. The Correlation of Christian Doctrines; by S. F. Smith, D.D. 5. Professor Samuel S. Green, LL.D.; by Reuben A. Guild, LL.D. 6. A Study in the Atonement; by S. Graves, D.D. 7. Modified Calvinism; or, Remainders of Freedom in Man; by Augustus H. Strong, D.D.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1883. (Andover.)—1. Certain Legal Analogies; by Rev. Francis Wharton, LL.D. 2. The Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch, by Prof. Edwin C. Bissell. 3. The Position and Character of the American Clergy; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 4. Positivism as a Working System; by Rev. F. H. Johnson. 5. The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison; by Rev. S. C. Bartlett, D.D., LL.D.

Journal of Christian Philosophy, April, 1883. (New York.)—1. Inspiration; by Prof. George T. Ladd. 2. The Recent Scientific Philosophy of Society; by Prof. Benjamin N. Martin. 3. Miracles and Their Place in Christian Evidence;

by Prof. George P. Fisher. 4. The Genesis of the Idea of God; by Prof. Francis L. Patton. 5. The Lamp of the Body; by Jesse B. Thomas, D.D. 6. The Antiquity of Man Historically Considered; by Prof. George Rawlinson. 7. The True Mount Lebanon—the Name an Index to the Place; by the Editor. 8. Proceedings of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1883. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Liturgical Question; by F. W. Conrad, D.D. 2. The Ultimate Ground of Knowing and Being; by Pres. David J. Hill. 3. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper; by J. G. Morris, D.D. 4. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament and the Textus Receptus; by Rev. Prof. J. W. Richard, A.M. 5. Biographical Sketch of Rev. A. D. Rowe, A.M., the First Children's Missionary to India; by Rev. Jacob A. Clutz, A.M.

NEW ENGLANDER, May, 1883. (New Haven.)—1. Three Eras of Religious Life in America; by Rev. J. W. Backus. 2. The New England Meeting-House; by President Noah Porter. 3. The "Dr. Grimshawe" MSS.; by John Addison Porter. 4. Recent Theories of Wages; by Professor J. B. Clark. 5. Bacon's Promus; by Charles H. Owen, Esq. 6. Rothe on the Atonement: translated by Rev. George B. Stevens. 7. Is Death an Accident? A Metaphysical Inquiry; by Rev. H. A. Stimson. 8. The Conscience; by Rev. John M. Williams.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1883. (Boston.)—1. William Coggswell, D.D.; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 2. Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder. 3. Bristol Records; communicated by Rev. James P. Lane. 4. Patterson Family; by Hon. John R. Rollins. 5. Edward Randolph; communicated by G. D. Scull, Esq. 6. The Forgery in the Adams Pedigree. 7. Will of James Haines or Hindes, of Southold, Long Island, N. Y., 1652; communicated by A. M. Haines, Esq. 8. Passengers and Vessels that have Arrived in America. 9. Braintree Records: communicated by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 10. Soldiers in King Philip's War; communicated by Rev. George M. Bodge. 11. The Bacons of Virginia and their English Ancestry; by Charles Hervey Townshend, Esq. 12. Names of Captives at Lancaster, 1676; communicated by Henry S. Nourse, Esq.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1883. (New York.)—1. American Manufacturing Interests; by Joseph Nimmo, Jr. 2. Present Aspects of College Training; by President D. C. Gilman. 3. The Abuse of Citizenship; by Edward Self. 4. Herbert Spencer's Facts and Inferences; by Prof. Isaac L. Rice. 5. A Few Words about Public Singing; by Christine Nilsson. 6. Incidental Taxation; by William M. Springer, M.C. 8. The Moral Influence of the Drama; by Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley, John Gilbert, A. M. Palmer, and William Winter.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1883. (New York.)—1. Can Americans Compete in the Ocean Carrying Trade; by George F. Seward. 2. The Future of Turkey; by Canon George Rawlinson. 3. The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Light of Recent Psychology; by Henry N. Day, D.D. 4. Personality and Law—The Duke of Argyle; by Mark Hopkins. 5. Co-operation in the United States; by R. Heber Newton. 6. The Dawn of the English Reformation; by James E. Thorold Rogers, M.P.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1883. (Macon, Georgia.)—1. Horace Bushnell; by J. H. Carlisle, LL.D. 2. Matter and its Phenomena; by President George T. Gould, D.D. 3. Prohibition and Temperance; by Walter B. Hill, Esq. 4. Methodism Positive Christianity; by Rev. John B. Robins. 5. Ancient Greek Education; by Professor O. H. Comprew, A.M. 6. The Bible Epic: Messiad; by Rev. R. J. Bowman. 7. Dr. David Livingston; by A. S. Andrews, D.D. 8. Jesuitism; by Rev. F. M. Edwards. 9. Bishop J. O. Andrew; by Rev. W. J. Scott.

In the hands of the new editor, Dr. Hinton, our Quarterly, South, attains a new and, we trust, better era. We have no longer in the editorship the politico-ecclesiastical bitterness of

Dr. Bledsoe, nor the intense pro-slavery sectionalism of Dr. Summers. The editor, though flinging in an occasional sectional and obstructive utterance, reveals a sympathy with the Young South. In this Quarterly the names of the authors are fairly given; but as they are not, we are sorry to say, given in the table of contents, they may often fail to appear in our Synopsis.

We specially note in the present number the admirable article on "Bushnell," by President Carlisle; "Prohibition and Temperance," by Walter B. Hill, Esq.; and "Bishop Andrew," by Rev. W. J. Scott. Mr. Hill's article is a powerful document, and indicates that our Southern brethren are marshaling rapidly and bravely in the temperance cause.

The blemish of the number is the article on the venerated Bishop. Its denunciations of the Abolitionists are precisely parallel to the ravings of the rumsellers at the temperance men. We give a specimen or so of its howls. The first is the following historic untruth regarding the Northern delegates in the General Conference of 1844: "These men, whose sires had waxed fat on the traffic in human flesh, were now in hot pursuit of Bishop Andrew for the sin of slaveholding, not by purchase, but by inheritance. To this deep-mouthed baying of the Boston kennel there was added the shrill cry of Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart from the other hostile Conferences."—P. 332. There was not, we may safely say, ever a New England Methodist, or a New England Methodist's father or "sire," who bought, held, or sold a slave. If there were men in New England who did hold slaves, how were the antislavery men of New England responsible for their crime any more than Mr. Scott is responsible for the rumsellers in his State? The first war of the New England antislavery men was against slavery and slave-trade in their own States, and they abolished both. If any of the slave-dealers or holders sold their slaves when emancipation was accomplished, how were the Abolitionists responsible for that? Surely Mr. Hill's mouth is not closed from denouncing drunkenness in this Quarterly because there are rumsellers and drunkards in his native section? Mr. Hill probably imagines that that is the very reason why his mouth should be wide open. And just so thought Northern abolitionists upon the slavery question. Howl the second sounds as follows: "The

Moloch of antislavery fanaticism must be appeased at the expense of justice and every other cardinal virtue of heathen and Christian morality. It was done by the tyranny of a *mob*, or else by the ruling of a star-chamber tribunal."—P. 332. Rumsellers would say, "the Moloch of total-abstinence fanaticism." Why was antislaveryism a "Moloch?" Did it raise an auction block on which human beings, sometimes handsome young mulatto girls, were sacrificed to the highest bidder? Did it forbid education of its victims in order that they might be brutalized into total subjection to their oppressors? Did it ever keep a bloodhound to chase the footsteps of the helpless fugitive? Did it ever subject its kidnapped victims and their offspring to the driver's whip, lashing them to toil, and then appropriating the income? O no! It simply proclaimed liberty to the captive, asserted the rights of humanity, maintained the truth of the first sentence of our Declaration of Independence, and demanded the peaceful emancipation of four millions of native-born Americans from that despotic system that "spared not man in its cruelty nor woman in its lust." No; it was that system, the slave-power, which was the true Moloch, the Moloch of which Mr. Scott is the imbecile worshiper and infamous apologist. As for "mob," the mobs were all on the other side. The so-called "abolition mobs" were really pro-slavery mobs, raised to crush the abolitionists. With the exception of abolition rallies, made to rescue the innocent fugitive from Southern slave-catchers and kidnappers, there were no real "abolition mobs." Howl third is as follows: "In the course of a memorable debate on the American Crisis, he [Edmund Burke] stated that the Southern Colonies were more ardently and stubbornly attached to liberty than those to the northward. Furthermore, let it be proclaimed in Boston and published in the streets of Philadelphia, that Burke attributed this to the fact that, like Greece and Rome, they were slave-holding communities." Very well. Let it be proclaimed the world round that the slave-holders were earnest maintainers of freedom—*for themselves*, and the still more earnest maintainers of slavery for others. They were enthusiastic champions for the freedom to bind the fetter and flourish the whip upon their kidnapped victims. Howl fourth (too prolix for our quotation) parallels the secession of the Southern delegates from the Gen-

eral Conference of 1844 with the secession of the Free Church of Scotland. The two unquestionably are parallelisms in that both were secessions, but they were contrasts in the causes for which the secession took place. The former was for religious freedom; the latter was for secular slavery; and the latter, as some would say, finds a more suitable parallel in the secession of the angels that kept not their first estate. Next to the cruelty of Mr. Scott's onslaught on abolitionism is that of his eulogy on the good Bishop; and it is agonizing to see that venerable man slavered over with such an overflowing gush of relentless bombast. We trust that this Quarterly will live long decades, and its bound volumes be deposited in many a library; and our worst wish for Mr. Scott is, that he may live to re-read his tirade with shame and ingenuous repentance. Nevertheless, in most cases Bourbonism can only die with the Bourbon, and in such event the disburdened world has good reason to ejaculate a hearty "good riddance" to both. It is right to say, that in the several pages added on the same subject by the editor we find a very different spirit, with the main of which we agree, and see no demand for making an issue where we differ. And here we note that so long as fierce pro-slavery leaders like Scott issue their manifestoes in the highest periodicals of the South the Methodist Episcopal Church is needed there. And it is not only a Negro Church we need there, but a body of white churches who will be a pillar of moral support for the advocates of the New South.

This Quarterly contains a full critical notice of *Dr. Miley's valuable volume on the Atonement*, a volume which, we are pleased to see, attracts a decided interest among our Southern theologians. The critic speaks of Christ's "punishment," and holds it to be defensible from its voluntary undergoing. He does not seem to recognize that the real objection is not merely to the justice of such "punishment," but to its *possibility*. The punishment of the guiltless is a solecism, in thought and word and thing; as axiomatically absurd as a *round triangle*. You can no more transfer one being's guilt or moral character to another than you can his personal identity. I can be no more guilty of another man's sin than I can suffer his headache. The making Christ literally guilty, a sinner, in order that he can be said to be punished, is an appalling fiction. An

innocent man can indeed voluntarily endure *suffering* in order to prevent by substitution a guilty man's punishment; but the *suffering* of the innocent is not *punishment.* If Damon die for Pythias' crime, Damon is not thereby a criminal, a rebel; neither is he guilty, nor is he punished. But we are sometimes told there are two meanings to the words *guilt* and *punishment;* one where they are *real,* and the other where they are *imputed.* Undoubtedly, if you import into your words an esoteric theological meaning, unknown elsewhere in language, you can say the innocent is guilty, and the sufferer is punished. By special definition any thing can be truly affirmed, even a *round triangle.* You can have an innocent guilt and a guilty guilt, just as you can have a white black and a black black. But what is the use of introducing such an elaborate bungle into our theological language? When you say that guilt is not real, but only imputed, you actually deny that there is any genuine guilt. What do we gain by such verbal quirks and quirligigs but the power of uttering to the public ear statements that are offensive to the moral sense and common sense of mankind? And the final gains are disgust, skepticism, and hatred of the Gospel of Christ. Away with such paltering equivocations in our theology, remembering that by its very etymology our *ortho*doxy is a *straight* doxy.

HEBREW STUDENT, May, 1883. (Chicago.)—1. The Authorship of the Fifty-First Psalm; by Rev. P. A. Nordell. 2. The Little Book of the Covenant; by Prof. C. A. Briggs. 4. Notes from Abroad: by Rev. John P. Peters. 4. General Notes: The Relationship of Christianity to Judaism. 5. Prepositions of the Verbs Meaning to Believe or Trust; by Prof. F. B. Denio.

The "Hebrew Student" is the organ of a very interesting movement in Old Testament scholarship. It is in connection with an Institute of Hebrew, the purpose of which is to rouse an interest in Hebrew studies through organized action; to furnish instruction in Hebrew, both by a correspondence system and a Summer Hebrew School; to make provision for furnishing Hebrew books at cheapest rates; and to sustain a periodical, ten numbers a year for one dollar, devoted to the publication of articles from able pens, both American and foreign, in the department of Hebrew literature. The whole movement is worthy the highest encouragement. It furnishes valuable aids for all who wish to commence, or to perfect themselves in, the language of Moses and the prophets. The articles of the peri-

odical are delightful reading for enthusiasts in the sacred tongue. Our ministers generally who take our Quarterly may be safely advised that their one dollar will be a paying investment.

In the present number the first article, on the Authorship of the Fifty-first Psalm, maintains very conclusively its Davidic source. This psalm undergoes a vigorous assault from the Robertson Smith school, who find its Levitical character too clear to be allowed so early a date as David, and so maintain it to be, of course, "post-exilic." The second article aims to show that Moses' Little Book of the Covenant has a parallelism with the Decalogue. Next, Dr. Peters' Notes from Abroad put us in very interesting communication with the biblical scholarship of Germany.

Whatever future effects may result from the theories of Wellshausen and followers, their present influence is to awaken a deep interest in Old Testament investigation. There is no dozing just now over the ancient records. The editor is confident, as we are, that the outcome will be auspicious.

From the editorial department we give the following reminder to investigators of the value of the "traditional" opinions, both Jewish and Christian:

CRITICISM AND THE CANON.—Has Biblical Science the right to re-examine the historic foundations of Christianity and re-test the Canon of Scripture? Without a doubt. But in this process of re-examining and re-testing, has it also the right to reject entirely the traditional testimony of the Church to the Sacred Books? To *this* question the arrogant spirit of the extreme modern Criticism gives an affirmative answer. Happily there are those who deny this right. *Van Oosterzee* says, "As concerns the Canon of the *Old* Testament Scriptures, the Christian Church received from the Jews, *yet not without critical investigation.* Melito of Sardis and Origen made accurate investigations among the Palestinian Jews as to what writings belonged to the Canon, although, along with these, a certain value was attached to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. To the question (then raised) whether it was wise, generally speaking, *to rely on the Jewish Tradition, an affirmative answer seemed justified,* for this Tradition itself was the fruit of a critical examination made at the time of the close of the Old Testament Canon, and assuredly not without earnestness and conscientiousness. As to particular details, the accuracy of this critical judgment of antiquity is, perhaps, not to be defended against every possible objection. But well may it, with grateful appreciation of the help of a thorough Isagogics, regard

the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as a whole, as authentic sources of our knowledge of *Divine Revelation given by Moses and Prophets.* The position which Christian Theologians, in the spirit of the Reformation have, therefore, to occupy in relation to the tradition which gave to the Church its Canon, is already defined, in principle, by what has been said. It is not that of *blind dogmatism* which, at once, begins to submit, unreservedly, to the authority of tradition; and just as little is it that *lofty criticism* which attaches to the utterances of tradition no essential importance, but that of a truly independent, impartial, and patiently conducted investigation." To the same purpose are the profound observations of *Martensen:* "As Holy Scripture is the Canon for the *Church* only, it is manifest that a necessary reciprocity must continually subsist between it and ecclesiastical tradition. By the transmission of the Church, Scripture has been handed down to us, and the Church it was that collected the Books of the Canon, as they are in living use at the present day. We cannot, indeed, look upon our traditional Canon as a work of inspiration, yet we cannot but recognize the fact that the ancient Church had a special call to this work, and that this collection of books—which has obtained unanimous recognition in the most contrasted quarters of the Church, and thus has received ecumenical ratification, has been determined under the guidance of the Spirit who was to lead the Church, according to her Lord's promise, into all truth. To deny that the early Church performed this task, is to deny that the Scriptures, given by God, have the power to claim for themselves admission and recognition in the Church."

What is worthy of note is, that, notwithstanding doubts expressed here and there, by a few individuals, the uniform result of all critical sifting of the Canon leaves it practically untouched. It was the result of the Jewish search, the result of the early Christian search, by men who knew the use of language, the result of the Reformation search, the "*Quinque libri Mosis*" being a part of the Word of God, and the result of the Westminster search, as is shown by the writings of their divines. Whatever liberty is accorded to the later criticism, it does not yet appear that this foundation of the past, laid by such giant intellects, ceaseless toil, and careful investigation, can be essentially affected. While asserting, therefore, the right of Biblical Science to a free, untrammeled, and reverential criticism of the historic grounds of the Canon, we may approve the remarks cited above. There is an inseparable relation between the Canon and the true tradition. It will not do, in determining the Canonicity of a given book, to employ a single rule, viz., the Testimony of the Spirit and subjective application of saving truth, nor to rest solely upon tradition. Does the book claim for itself authority? Is the claim well supported by the composition itself? Has the book generally been so regarded? Has it the sanction of Christ or of one of the New Testament writers? All these questions must be answered

Criticism, which has to do chiefly with the second, has no right to announce as infallible a decision which has been reached without an impartial consideration of all sides of the question. — Pp. 279, 280.

The following extract, also from the editorial, furnishes a very compact survey of the whole field of discussion. By reading the parts of the Old Testament in the order of the "scheme" here given, the student will see what kind of an Old Testament Canon the new reconstructors would give us:

THE ORDER, PROPHETS, LAW, PSALMS; INSTEAD OF LAW, PSALMS, PROPHETS.—There are those who would have us believe that the traditional arrangement of the literature and history of the Old Testament must be entirely reconstructed. Supposing the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, they are perplexed to find his legislation "followed by a period of about five centuries of comparative barbarism, during which a highly organized nation has fallen into a loose federation of clans, an elaborate ritual with a jealously exclusive official clergy has been superseded by a crude and uncouth cultus presided over by an irregular and personal priesthood, and the trained strength of a disciplined army coextensive with a victorious nation has disappeared, leaving the oppressed Israelites dependent upon flashes of individual and undisciplined valor for even temporary relief from their sufferings." It is equally difficult for them to comprehend the sudden change from the "wild and barbaric virtues and vices of the period of the Judges to the marvelous spiritual depth and maturity of the Psalms," it being impossible, as they view the matter, for the hero "who stood with one foot in the period of Gideon and Jephthah (to say nothing of his own doings and beliefs) to have composed those portions of the Old Testament which stand nearer than any other to the feelings and aspirations of Christianity." And then, after two or three centuries, during which not even the "faintest after-vibrations of David's harp are to be heard, they are startled by the apparition of the prophets—true sons of the earth, in the freshness and verve of their appeal, speaking like men whom a sudden sense of what should be has startled and horrified by its own contrast with what is, and who turn in all the passion of new-born conviction to force the truth upon a heedless or astonished world." Nor, finally, are they willing that Israel should be without a history during the five hundred years from Malachi to Christ. To be relieved of these difficulties a new scheme is suggested. Instead of "Law, Psalms, Prophets," they propose "Prophets, Law, Psalms." According to this reconstruction the arrangement of Hebrew literature will be briefly as follows:

1. *The Prophetic Narrators*, by whom were written those portions of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua, which may be described as most graphic, pathetic, and picturesque; e. g., Gen. ii, 5–iv, 26; vi, 1–8, etc.; the legislation of these Narrators is to be found in Exod. xxi–xxiii, 19, known as the *Book of the Covenant;* about the end of the..... *9th cent.*
2. *Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah* (i–xxxix.)..... *8th cent.*
3. *Deuteronomist*, in whose writings is to be found a marked advance upon the legislation of the Narrators. This includes among other fragments, Gen. xv, xxvi, 2–5; Exodus xiii, 3–16; xx, 2–17; all of Deut. except a part of chaps. xxii and xxxiv, and some portions of Joshua. This code was introduced by King Josiah in the revival which followed the idolatrous reigns of Manasseh and Ammon..... *7th cent.*
4. *Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah* (xl–lxvi)..... *6th cent.*
5. *Book of Origins, or Priestly Code*, partly narrative, chiefly legislative, marked by two characteristics, love of system, and devotion to ceremonial observances. This includes, together with large portions of Gen., Exod., Num., and Deut., all of *Leviticus*..... *5th cent.*
6. *Psalms;* a few perhaps go back to the 7th, but the most of them must be assigned to the..... *5th–2d cent.*

And now, we may well ask, upon what ground this reconstruction is based? The answer is, *internal evidence.* There is no external *for* it, while it may be said emphatically that there is external evidence *against* it. This point is touched by Dr. Peters in the "Notes from Abroad" of the present number. He says truly that "internal criticism is proverbially unreliable when without all external corroboration." Two important items, therefore, viz., the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, militate against any theory assigning so late a date to the Pentateuch and to some of the Psalms. Another serious question is found in the attitude of the New Testament writers. We cannot deny that the traditional view is attended with difficulties which in some cases seem inexplicable; but we believe that this proposed reconstruction involves far greater difficulties. If, however, we were prepared to rule out the supernatural, to deny the existence of prophecy, to count as of no weight the words of the Saviour, there is so much in this theory of the plausible, that we might be tempted to adopt it.—Pp. 280–282.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (Philadelphia.)—1. A Limit to Evolution; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S. 2. Socialism; by the Rev. James O'Connor, D.D. 3. The Chapelle Des Martyrs, and the September Massacre; A Relic of the Revolution. 4. The Catholic Church and Popular Education; by William J. Onahan. 5. How Church History is Written; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D. D. 6. The American Hierarchy in Its Threefold Source: Three Representative Bishops; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 7. Jasper in the Apocalypse the Symbol of the Primacy; by Rev. Walter Strappini, S.J. 8. Lawlessness and Law in Ireland; by Bryan J. Clinch. 9. Mr. Mozley's Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement; by John Cuthbert Earle, B.A. Oxon.

No writer has better shown the reconcilability of a modified evolutionism with biblicism than Dr. Mivart, the author of the first article in this able Quarterly. His book, "The Genesis of

Species," published soon after Darwin's "Origin of Species," checked the extravagances of "Natural Selection," and obliged Darwin himself to retract. Excellent works have since appeared; but even now we should probably recommend that volume as still the best statement of a tenable middle ground.

In the present article Dr. Mivart maintains, in an extended psychological argument, that the mental difference between animals and man is not of mere degree, but of kind, and so great as to forbid the conclusion that the former could evolve the latter. Brute thought is mere perception of the object without power of abstraction or classification; and the individual perception or sensation is followed as a mechanism by the action. Hence the brute does not intellectively infer, and does not reason. But man is capable of abstraction and classification, and so can reason. He thereby attains the idea of *Being*. It is this that constitutes man. And whatever the *shape* of the animal possessing such power, he would be truly human.

This is, perhaps, a satisfactory argument. And yet the materialist might say that all mind or thought is the same in kind, and that he does not feel called upon to concede that higher organization of brain may not unfold from brute instinct to human reason. The argument is only good for the biblicist himself, as furnishing justification for assumption that man comes into existence by a special pulsation of divine power. And thereby the following statement is justified: "But if rational beings may have arisen in the world thus unobtrusively, it may well be, on the other hand, that the Miocene chippers of flints, however well endowed with sense perceptions and practical imaginations of means adapted to ends, were destitute of the idea of 'Being,' of the powers of analysis and synthesis, and of the power of recognizing classes as such—in a word, may have been but brutes. Their chipping actions need have been nothing more than a further extension of those sensitive faculties by which brutes pursue an escaping prey, jump on mounds, or climb to reach what is out of reach, prepare stakes for their dam, as does the beaver, or employ a stone to crack a hard nut, as does that common ring-tailed monkey, the sapajou—actions such as those before described as being performed to complete a harmony which the imagination craves."—Pp. 219, 220.

Mr. Dawkins seemed involved in dilemma by the French

affirmation of the existence of Miocene flint-chippers. On the one hand they were as Miocene earlier than the high mammal age, and on the other hand the admission of their production by higher apes invalidated the derivation of any chipped flints from human hands. Why, then, might not all the palæolithic flints be chipped by apes as well as the Miocene?

Allowing some force to Dr. Mivart's psychological argument above, we still prefer, at least, to add the solution derived from the old Church view of the threefoldness of man's nature, which he has himself so well illustrated in former publications. Sharing with other animals a body derived from earth, and a *psyche* derived from divinely animated nature, his *pneuma* is inbreathed from above, and constitutes both his immortality and his capacity for the conception of the infinite, and so of his immortality. For the conception of infinity, as seen in duration, becomes immortality; as seen in space, becomes immensity; as seen in being, becomes God. And this whether the materialist allows it or not. And then we comprehend the reality of the tradition of the transcendent Edenic origin of man, attested by both the Bible and the consensus of ethnic antiquity, which Evolutionism is bound to respect.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. Dr. W. Robertson Smith on the Prophets of Israel; by Prof. W. H. Green. 2. The Marbles of Ancient Rome; by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D. 3. Co-Ordination of Grace and Duty. 4. Moravian Missions; by the Rev. Charles G. Mc... 5. Luke, the Beloved Physician; by the Rev. Robert M'Cheyne Edgar, M.... 6. The New Hebrides Mission and the Polynesian Labor Traffic; by the Rev. John Inglis.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1883. (London.)—1. James Clerk Maxwell. 2. The Development of River Conservancy. 3. The Letters of Synesius. 4. Justin Martyr and the Fourth Gospel. 5. The Antiquity of Man. 6. ... Fletcher. 7. The Holy Spirit between the Resurrection and Pentecost.

This is a superior number of this excellent Quarterly, unsurpassed by any Review of the quarter.

James Clerk Maxwell, the subject of the first article, was the equal in science and the superior in varied abilities and acquirements of Faraday, Tyndall, Agassiz, or Huxley. He was born in Edinburgh, 1831, and died, "alas! for us too soon," 1879. He was a devout Christian and a model man. Elected

to a Professorship at Cambridge, his presence and work created an impulse in that ancient University. Some of his utterances in defense of divine truth have a permanent value at the present day. Especially pertinent in the theistic discussion is the following affirmation of the "manufactured" character of molecules:

> In the heavens we discover by their light, and by their light alone, stars so distant from each other that no material thing can ever have passed from one to another; and yet this light, which is to us the sole evidence of the existence of these distant worlds, tells us also that each of them is built up of molecules of the same kind as those which we find on earth. A molecule of hydrogen, for example, whether in Sirius or in Arcturus, executes its vibrations in precisely the same time. . . . No theory of evolution can be formed to account for the similarity of molecules, for evolution necessarily implies continuous change, and the molecule is incapable of growth or decay, of generation or destruction. None of the processes of nature, since the time when nature began, have produced the slightest difference in the properties of any molecule. We are therefore unable to ascribe either the existence of the molecules or the identity of their properties to any of the causes which we call natural. On the other hand, the exact equality of each molecule to all others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschell has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent. Though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred, and may yet occur, in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn. They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight; and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement and justice in action, which we reckon among our noblest attributes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him who, in the beginning, created not only the heavens and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist."—P. 16.

If the authority of Herschell and Maxwell, then, are sufficient to establish the "manufactured" quality of molecules, we seem to have a refutation of the ancient dogma of the eternity of matter, and a demonstration of both its creation and its adaptation to the purposes of a created system. Have the maintainers of theism sufficiently appropriated this primordial fact? Do they not too carelessly allow the atheist to assume the eternity of the "laws" of matter, and thence deduce the

formation of the cosmic system by laws without a law-maker? And so Chalmers conceded that the argument for God must be based, not upon the existence of laws, but upon "the collocation of matter" into an intellective system. And, before him, Kant maintained that the design argument proved, not a Creator, but only a Formator. But, one by one, theistic defenders are coming without conscious concert to the more basal ground. Professor Winchell, as we noted in a former Quarterly, argues Deity fundamentally from the nature of force, showing him to be the originator of matter. Professor Cooke, of Harvard, in his *Religion of Chemistry*, argues divine Design from the laws of chemical action, finding God to be the founder of an intellective system of primordial laws, by which the intellective system of the universe assumes form. Dr. Hill, as noticed in our last Quarterly, finds mathematical laws selectively and discriminatively imposed upon nature. Herschell and Clerk Maxwell find the very shape of the molecule imposed upon it, rendering it, as it were, a manufactured *brick* in order to the building of the great edifice of creation. Here, then, we have the chapters for one treatise of Primordial Theism, combining Winchell, Cooke, Hill, and Maxwell, proving God to be not only a Formator, giving shapes to masses of pre-existent matter with its eternal laws, but a Creator of matter, and an Imposer of its laws, *in order to* the production of the intellective system of creation. The atheist is thus deprived of his capital at start. He cannot assume matter and its laws to make his world. The design argument lies back of both.

The article on "The Antiquity of Man" is honorably distinguished by its acknowledgment of American facts and authors on the subject. It admits that Southall and Dawson have effectually rolled back the tide of Sir Charles Lyell's *uniformitarianism*. America has not, indeed, affirmed any difference in the intrinsic nature of physical force; but she has shown overwhelmingly that physical forces have at various periods acted with most stupendous *catastrophic* violence. The calculations based on uniform rates of action are terribly demolished. And then the antiquities based on stalagmite and peat are invalidated. The following questioning of the human origin of the flint implements threatens another blow: "No one can distinguish man's work from those which are the result of

accident. Blake's patent stone-breaker, for instance, gives flint flakes just like the 'prehistoric' ones. Mr. Callard clearly inclines to the notion that the flints are not artificial; Professor Gaudry, on the contrary, followed by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, suggests that they may have been the work of some anthropoid ape, though (as has been shrewdly remarked) no existing apes, not even one of those who use stones for cracking fruits, has ever been seen to make or use a flint flake."—P. 115. And on a further page it is said: "Concerning the Abbé Bourgeois' flints from the mid-miocene strata at Thenay, which were shown with so much confidence at the last Paris Exhibition, Professor Gaudry (*Les Enchainements*, p. 241) suggests, as we said above, that they may have been the work of the great anthropoid ape (*dryopithecus*) then living in France; and, in answer to the sneer that apes nowadays do not make stone implements, Mr. Dawkins remarks: 'It does not follow that the extinct apes did not do so, for some extinct animals are known to have been more highly organized than any of the living members of their class. The secondary reptiles possessed attributes not shared by their degenerate tertiary successors. The *deinosaurs* and *theriodonts* had structural peculiarities now only met with in the birds and the mammalia. In the same way some of the extinct higher apes may have possessed qualities not now found in any living species.'"—Pp. 121, 122. The pre-Adamic man seems to be a somewhat vanishing quantity. Nevertheless, Sir John Lubbock (witness his late Presidential Address) is as tall and undismayed as ever. He never heard, apparently, of Southall and the western hemisphere. And we may here add that the failure of the flint implements would demolish Mr. Abbot's New Jersey pre-Adamite, as well as George Frederic Wright's argument based upon him.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1883. (London.)—1. The True Character of the Pilgrim Fathers. 2. Welsh Education and the Established Church in Wales. 3. Notes on the Reign of Charles II. 4. The Late Bishop Wilberforce. 5. Shakespeare's Immortals. 6. Muratori. 7. Thought and Speech. 8. The Future of English Politics. 9. The Political Survey of the Quarter. 10. Contemporary Literature.

In the Article on "Thought and Speech" we have the following passage on the problem of the formation of the complex forms of inflection and syntax by the early human races:

Among the most remarkable phenomena which are presented by language we must count the inflections and grammatical forms. These follow laws constructed often with great skill, by virtue of which laws the language obtains immense facilities for recording changes of thought. Language is by no means a series of isolated sounds proclaiming isolated notions: it is a system of speech wonderfully provided with instruments, whereby the various relationships which these notions bear to one another can be shown. We thought just now of the words *dico*, *dixi*, *dicere*, etc., only as a group of sounds which contained within them a common idea. But when we look closer at the members of the group, we see that each contains, in addition to the common root sound, the inflection which is full of meaning also. Only in this it is not a meaning of the same kind as that expressed by the root; it is not an idea, but the relationship of an idea to others. The terminations *-o*, *-si*, (in *dixi=dicsi*,) *-ere* contain within them notions at once the most intangible which we can conceive, and the most necessary, if speech is to be a language of reason and not a mere expression of outward sensation. For reason only begins when we can bring things into relationship with one another: grammatical forms and syntax have been the means which all languages employed for expressing the relationship of things. And again, in much the same way that (as Kant has shown) our ideas of things, though infinite in number, so soon as they are considered by reason and in relationship to one another, can be brought within a certain limited number of categories; so in language, however many words there may be, these are all found to be brought under a limited number of grammatical forms. Now what human foresight could have pre-arranged all this wonderful machinery for assisting the reason and almost for demonstrating to the reason how limited the number of its judgments could be despite the infinite diversity of human sensations? The greatest intellect the world has ever produced would be, it may safely be said, incapable of devising a grammar, were no such thing in existence. How, then, does grammar come into being? How do we find grammar not among the cultivated races only, but among quite rude savages, such as some of the African tribes? and find here not an elementary grammar only, but a complex and scientific one. Nothing can be imagined more elaborate than the grammar of our far-away Aryan ancestors, who, if they had learnt the art of plowing, had not learnt it long. Which would be the easier to build, a grammar such as that, or a house with four stories? And yet it would seem that they had the first and had not yet achieved the second. How can such a discrepancy be explained? The closer we look into the real significance of grammatical forms, the more do we see that to appreciate the fact that they all express identical relations would require a degree of intelligence far beyond the capacities of any ordinary man. In fact, the growth of grammar is simply a mystery which we cannot account for if we limit the intellectual

agency in the world to the intellectual activity of men. Here, if anywhere, is the evidence of an intelligent design in nature.—Pp. 420–422.

The Spinozan explanation is, that language grows or crystallizes out of man as leaves from a tree by natural spontaneity. And nearly that seems the Mosaic view, by which man develops into a speaking linguist as the objects pass before him. Shall we explain the clean-cut differences between different systems of language by their being cleft asunder at Babel?

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. Mission Work among Lepers in India; by Wellesley C. Bailey, Esq. 2. Brahmoism: The Adi Somaj; by Ram Chandra Bose, Esq. 3. Self-support in the Native Church; by Rev. J. E. Scott. 4. A Question of the Future—Christian Organization in India; by C. E. G. Crawford, Esq. 5. Union of Christians in India; by Rev. J. S. Chandler. 6. Review of the General Decennial Missionary Conference, Calcutta, 1882-83; by Rev. J. P. Ashton, M.A. 7. Hinduism in Opposition to Christianity, as seen at Benares; by Rev. John Hewlett, M.A. 8. The Existing Marriage Laws as they Affect Europeans and Native Christians; by Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan. 9. What is Holy Matrimony? by the Editor.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. BACMEISTER, The Question of the Moral Order of the Universe. 2. WENDT, Use of the words ἀλήθεια, ἀληθής, and ἀληθινός, in the New Testament. 3. BLEIBTREN. Romans iii, 21–26, etc. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. WEISS, The Question of the Gospels. 2. BEYSCHLAG, On the Preceding Article on the Gospels. 3. KOLDE, Order of the First Evangelical Service of Nüremberg. 4. USTERI, Supplement to the History of Baptism in the Reformed Church. 5. WETZEL, Alpheus and Klopas. 6. NESTLE, On Usteri's "Original of the Marburg Articles." *Review:* HARTMANN, The Religious Consciousness of Humanity in the Order of its Development; review by Dorner of Wittenberg.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE, (Journal for Church History.) Vol. IV, No. 1.—*Investigations and Essays:* 1. DRÄSEKE, Double Conception of the Pseudo-Justinian words, Ἐχθεσις πίστεως ἤτοι περὶ τριάδος. 2. UHLHORN, The Beginnings of the Order of St. John. *Analecta:* 1. LÖWENFELD, The Homilies of Saint Cesarius. 2. MÜLLER, Documents and Manuscripts Concerning the History of the Conflicts among the Minorites in the first half of the Fourteenth Century. 3. SCHNEIDER, A Document of Gregor's von Heimburg. 4. Miscellanea and Book Notices.

In "The Journal for Church History," Uhlhorn gives us a good deal of interesting information in the article on the early history of the Knights of the Order of St. John, which acquires much of its significance, and, doubtless, its publication at the present period, because of the late revival of that famous Order

agency in the world to the intellectual activity of man. Here, if anywhere, is the evidence of an intelligent design in nature.—Pp. 120–122.

The Spinozan explanation is, that language grows or crystallizes out of man as leaves from a tree by natural spontaneity. And surely that seems the Mosaic view, by which man develops into a speaking linguist as the objects pass before him. Shall we explain the clean-cut difference between different systems of language by their being clean cut as under at Babel?

of the days of the Crusades. The controversies about the beginnings of the Order are now of less import than the prospects of a future, and to these we will devote a few words. After many good and some bad deeds, the Order was finally dissolved in 1811 while in the hands of a Prussian commander. For a long time it had lost its significance, and ceased to pay attention to the sick and needy. The remaining members of the Order found their own personal pleasure in the enjoyment of the livings from possessions of the guild. These latter were finally confiscated by the State, and the Order indefinitely dissolved. King Frederick William IV. was greatly interested in the Holy Land, and found pleasure in reviving whatever might tend to its development in the future. As these knights in the earlier times had done valiant work in the hospitals, and even on the field, in Palestine, this king saw an opportunity of resuming it with the view of regenerating the land. Accordingly, in 1853, he re-established the German Chapter, and made the recently deceased Prince Carl, brother of the present emperor, Grand Master of the Order. This noble gentleman took up the matter of reorganization with great zeal, and closely devoted his entire energies to the good cause. The rich possessions of the Order had been scattered to the winds, and he began with 548 thalers, collected at the assemblage gathered to witness the installation of the new Grand Master. This petty sum showed no enthusiasm in the crowd, and the whispered words pronounced the affair a farce, and out of time and place. But the enthusiastic Prince Carl has made it a grand success in its best spirit. When he was laid away to his rest a few months ago he left behind him an Order numbering 2,087 members, of various grades, and in various parts of Germany no less than 34 hospitals and pest-houses, containing in all 1,397 beds. The Order had also established a hospital at Beirut, with 63 beds, and one in Jerusalem in the old hospice on the Via Dolorosa. Much of this work was done with his own means, and most of the relief afforded to strangers was given voluntarily, asking money only from those who were able to give.

These modern Knights of St. John the Baptist are in this way extending their good work over the Orient, and are acting in most instances as curators of the institutions which they

found, employing the deaconesses as nurses and dispensers of charity to the communities around them. They are peculiarly devoted to the work of relieving that portion of the poor outcasts of the East who else are left to suffer and die alone and unattended, namely, the epileptic and idiotic, and the lepers. They were particularly active in Syria during the persecutions of the native Christians in 1861, and have left permanent hospitals in Beirut and Sidon. In the German wars in 1864, '66, and then with France in 1870, '71, they founded a sort of Christian Commission, and their little mustard-tree grew to great proportions.

In all this work the now-deceased prince was at the front, and despised not the most menial offices to the sick and wounded soldiers, and during the last famous war his brother, the emperor, noticed and favored his work right loyally. In March, 1878, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the restoration of the Order, his majesty addressed to his brother an autograph letter closing with these words: "The review of this period presents to me a gratifying picture of noble and humanitarian effort. It is, indeed, a work of beautiful Christian love, whether amid the misery and sufferings of war, or in times of peace among the many poor and needy without distinction of nation or creed." On this same occasion the members of the Order addressed very affectionate words to the Commander, thanking him for the fidelity displayed in this Christian charity, so largely owing to his energy and Christian zeal. And the very last lines written by the prince himself was a letter addressed to the Crown Prince and Princess on the occasion of their silver wedding, telling them that his contribution was the founding of a new hospital bearing their name. When it reached them he had departed, having finished his work on earth as a veteran brother of the hospital, and a servant of the weary and heavy-laden.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) February, 1883.—1. BŒGNER, Godet's Commentary. 2. Lelièvre, The Huguenot Psalter, (continued.) 3. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 4. PUAX, Travels in Scandinavia. Literature of the Period, and Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

March, 1883.—1. NAVILLE, The Liberty of Religious Associations, (continued.) 2. SECRÉTAN, The Relations of Art and Morals. 3. DECOPPET, Literary Notices. 4. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Review of the Month.

April, 1883.—1. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Gambetta. 2. X., In Africa. 3. SABATIER, Literary Chronicle. 4. BEAUSSIRE, Report to the Academy of Sciences. 5. NYEGAARD, English Chronicle, Literary Notices by X. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

As will be seen from the above programmes, Naville returns again and again to the subject of liberty of religious associations and possessions, showing how deep is the feeling on the part of the French Protestants in regard to the interference of the state in matters of religion. They are daily becoming more decided in their convictions that the liberal or atheistical authorities of France and Paris have overshot the mark in their dealings with the various religious orders. Naville does not hesitate to condemn in the most decided terms the seventh article of the so-called "Ferry Laws" aimed at the Jesuits; the law that was rejected by the Chambers of the period, at least by the Senate, and then put into execution by the zealous minister on the basis of a law of the revolutionary period of 1790, which had never been repealed. We can do no better than to give Naville's own treatment of this subject in order to show the earnestness and directness with which he proceeds:

"In March, 1880, Minister Ferry issued two decrees, one of which suppressed the Jesuits, and the other ordered all the Congregations to demand the authorization, which would be granted or refused as the government should judge fitting. As there is here no question of the right of property, it is the religious life in common which is submitted to the good pleasure of the government. We may remark here that in France, as in Switzerland, the Jesuits have been the occasion, and in part the pretext, of measures taken against religious communities. It is easy to perceive in the polemics that have taken place in these matters, that the attacks have been habitually directed against the disciples of Loyola, so as to cause a great part of the religious population to forget that all religious orders were attacked indiscriminately. If the Jesuits have to

account, not only for their own faults, but also for all the misdeeds of their adversaries, and of which they have been the occasion, their task will be heavy. They are accused of teaching the maxim that the end justifies the means; it would seem, almost, that the political chiefs who declare themselves their enemies would wish to expel them in order to retain a monopoly of this procedure.

"As to the attacks relative to the moral character of the teaching of the Jesuits, attacks which, in certain cases, and for a few, are unfortunately but too well justified, one listens to them with respect from the mouth of Pascal and the recluses of Port-Royal. But these attacks, coming from the disciples of Voltaire, who are supposed to be acquainted with the writings of their teacher, would excite a smile if one were permitted to smile about so grave a matter. The hatred toward the Order of Jesuits, often genuine and serious, seems also, especially in the case of certain political leaders, a shield which conceals designs more vast than those which are confessed. The Jesuits teach an adulterated religion, but they do teach a religion; and in many cases it would seem that they are attacked more because of the religious element which they preserve and propagate than because of the adulterations which they have introduced. Such, at least, is the opinion of one of my countrymen, a man of heart and mind, who, though a Protestant, does not admit that all means are legitimate as soon as the task is to fight the Church of Rome."

Now to us these are very sad words, coming as they do from the pen of one of the purest and most zealous of the Protestant champions in the present crisis in France, and they do but voice the common sentiment of masses of people in France, namely, that the atheistical leaders have indeed stolen the livery of heaven with which to serve the devil. But, we feel bound to say that Naville has greatly magnified his office, and becomes, in some passages of his articles, which, by the way, would make a fair-size volume, the veritable defender of the Jesuits and the religious orders in his great desire to get even with his antagonists, who, in throwing hot shot at the guilty, have injured many who are innocent.

The national sentiment in France is one great obstacle to the establishment of full religious liberty. At the close of the

conflicts of the sixteenth century the nations of Europe were separated by the diversity of the faiths which they had officially adopted. France and Austria became Catholic countries, while England and some parts of Germany became Protestant states. Religion thus came to form an essential element of nationalities which was not the case in the Middle Ages. Many Frenchmen find it difficult to admit that France can cease to be officially Catholic, as there are not a few Englishmen who will not admit that a Catholic can be a true Briton.

The April number of the Review contains a very fine article on Gambetta, that has found its way to translation and general circulation in this country. It is a little unusual to look for this defense of the fast-and-loose statesman from Pressensé, and this vigorous and bold fighter has had to defend himself for it both at home and abroad. The German religious periodicals are particularly severe on him for much that he says of his hero in his relations to the Fatherland; and he returns with interest the hard blows that he receives. We would enjoy the controversy better if we could divest ourselves of the conviction that Pressensé defends Gambetta in his "religion of revenge" from national prejudice more than from solid and unbiased judgment. We are quite inclined to lay down the proposition that no Frenchman can be just to Germany in the matter of the late war. Contrary to the plainest proofs of history, the French, and all Frenchmen, persist in maintaining that the war was forced upon them, and the country ruthlessly invaded by savage hordes whose main delight, after murdering innocent non-combatants, was to steal all the clocks and bric-a-brac that came in their way.

But the weakness of Pressensé is that of his nation in this regard, and he does not hesitate to beard the lion in his den in the persons of all his countrymen who are now waging war against religion and good morals in their insane attacks on all religious and social organizations. He has recently done a noble thing in Paris in offering to meet all atheists and religious or anti-religious cranks of all shades, and discuss with them in open assembly of their own followers the respective merits of the Christian religion in comparison with their soulless doctrines. He went, therefore, unattended to a noisy assemblage of several thousand of the most stormy of the Parisian

demagogues, collected in a common ball-room adorned with red flags and cockades, and statues of the goddess of liberty adorned with the Phrygian cap. His account of his adventures in this turbid and boiling sea is highly interesting.

The assembly was in a stormy mood, but with rare exceptions the authority of the platform was respected. It was on the whole strangely susceptible, for it applauded the most opposite opinions. To-day it is in favor of extreme "free thought," although it is easy to perceive that atheistic materialism has not yet taken very deep roots, for it vibrates to every generous word of an opposite sense. After some heated accusations against the Sermon on the Mount, as recommending idleness, to which was given in reply the text of Saint Paul that "he who does not work should not eat," Pressensé ascends the platform, and is welcomed by the crowd, who admire his courage in appearing among them on such a bootless errand. His discourse is not entirely free from interruptions, and some of his assertions call forth violent clamor, but he is permitted to go on until the end, and even receives applause for some passages of broad Christian doctrine. He reminds the assembly that the most illustrious representatives of independent science declare that matter is one of the most obscure mysteries, and as no natural force can explain the production of life, he insists on the moral proof furnished by the conscience of the existence of a divine God. A voice exclaims: "Have you ever seen God?" "No, because he is invisible; but I have felt him, and heard all the voice of my conscience reproach me in his name for any evil deed that I have done. I pity those who do not hear this voice; you will hear it some day." These words were received in silence, and the speaker closed by showing them the destiny of the Republic and liberty if they did not obey the God of conscience, who is also the God of the Gospel; and left to the meditation of the assembly the words of Mazzini to the Italian working-men: "Apart from God, whence will you derive the law of right? Without God, whatever may be the system on which you lean, you will be obliged to acknowledge that there is naught else than blind force." Such words, to so wild and turbulent a crowd, were heroism; and the fact that they were quietly received was a genuine victory for a Christian hero.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE BELGIAN CLERGY AND THE SCHOOLS.

The most bitter conflict now being waged in all Europe is that between the Belgian clergy and the state in the matter of the primary schools. A few years ago the state determined to make elementary instruction secular and universal, as far as possible, and especially to put the schools into an acceptable condition by means of new and practical modes of teaching that could only be obtained through secular and professional teachers. From the very first step in this direction the priests have opposed the movement with all their influence, even to the extent of establishing every-where schools of their own, and forcing with all the authority of the Church the parents to send their children to the parochial schools to the detriment of the state primary schools. In this they have succeeded so well that they claim now that they have many more children in their schools than are to be found in those supported by the state; and an article to that effect has been going the rounds of the general press.

A few months ago the Belgian Chambers felt it necessary to do something to stem the tide of this baneful and obnoxious opposition to the endeavors of the authorities for the public good, and finally appointed a Commission of Inquiry to make an exhaustive examination into the whole affair and report to the Chambers. Said commission commenced their labors with the Province of Brabant, and thus far they recently reported. And this report shows conclusively the pressing necessity of the work undertaken. The facts brought to light seem simply incredible, and have appalled and exasperated the liberal portion of the nation. The commission accuses the priests of the most downright falsehood in word and deed in relation to all their movements, and declares that they have gotten possession of the local press in all the rural districts, and by means of it and the authority of the Church have introduced a veritable reign of terror among their ignorant and superstitious flocks. And never since the Church and the State have been in conflict in this country has such an annihilating blow been dealt out to priestly power as in this "*Enquete Scolaire*" presented by the commission.

The result, therefore, of this first inquiry proves its necessity and appropriateness. And the Ultramontanes in the Chambers saw so well their defeat beforehand that they absented themselves from the session, and made no effort to defend themselves from testimony that would certainly bring the blush to their cheeks. Their policy has been from the first to protest and deny; this they still continue. We will endeavor in a few words to give the substance of the proceedings, from which, even for us, many lessons are to be learned. The chairman of the commission reported the testimony of ear-and-eye witnesses from

about seventy cantons. About five thousand witnesses were examined under oath, and though the Ultramontanes made the universal plea of denial, they had no success in proving it, and indeed did not even try so to do. So bad were many of the cases brought up that the local priests would feel quite as uncomfortable in having the matter brought to Rome as to Brussels. And the chairman of the commission, in his eloquent speech, summoned the party of the Ultramontanes and the priests before the house and the nation to answer for the spirit of rebellion and discord which they had sown broadcast in the land. "You have broken family ties as well as long-standing friendships and business relations. And as we have traveled over the country, and closely observed the sorrow and sufferings brought upon the people by the priests, we here publicly declare that not only individuals, but the entire Belgian clergy, have violated all their patriotic, moral, and Christian duties, and we appeal to the Ultramontane party for a speedy end to this unholy effort. The facts that we present cannot be gainsaid; will, therefore, the party of the Center identify itself with the clergy? Or will it not rather take upon itself the responsibility of making such representations to the Episcopacy that this body will put an end to these persecutions of the people? This party must now take position for or against the state and the people."

"METHODISM IN GERMANY."

This is the heading of an article in one of the recent issues of the leading organ of the Evangelical Alliance in Germany, and it will, doubtless, be of interest to our readers to know at least the substance of it in order to see the way in which this important question is treated by the more liberal Christians of the Fatherland—premising the remark, that we cannot, of course, expect the "Lutheran Churchmen" of the land to notice the movement with any thing else than disgust.

"At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Basel the Methodist missionary work in Germany was discussed, mainly by members from Wurtemberg, Baden, the Rhine, and North Germany. In view of the complaints made by the state clergy, which were contested by the Methodists present, a request was presented to the Anglo-American Committee that the Methodists active in Germany might regard the parochial arrangements, and refrain from establishing congregations in Evangelical Church territory. The same subject has been discussed in several publications, mainly by Dr. Christlieb, in his monogram on the 'The Methodist Question in Germany,' and the reply to it by Professor J. P. Lange, of Bonn. Dr. Lange denies the right of Methodists to prosecute their work within the limits of the State Church parishes, and complains that modern Methodism contains much that is unsound and foreign to the German style of Church order and Christian life. Dr. Christlieb, for his part, exposes the defects of our Church life, the weakness of our large parishes, and the shady side of our ecclesiastical processes in the State Churches, on the one hand, and on the other presents the light

side of Methodism, and its influence and successful activity in England and America and the foreign missions; while he at the same time defends the Methodist missionaries against the complaints raised concerning them with testimonies of their peaceful and ecumenical disposition from the mouths of the Methodists themselves. Dr. J. G. Pfleiderer speaks in the same sense in his 'Pictures of American Travel.'

"'The Evangelist,' the organ of the Episcopal Methodists in Bremen, discourses in regard to the two last-named publications as follows: 'We are glad to perceive that the opinion of our activity in Germany within the parish territory of the State Churches is growing more calm, and assuming a less passionate form. And in the same paragraph the assertion is made that the Methodists come among us with no special message as to baptism, etc.,' to the members of other congregations, but preach only the central truths of Christianity, and make no effort to proselytize the members of other Churches. A full defense of Methodist methods may be found in a little work from the pen of the Methodist Episcopal pastor, Mr. C. Weiss; and here we emphasize the fact that the missionaries in Germany are not Americans, but native Germans. Now it is doubtful whether the actual practice may always be in accord with these announced principles. For it seems to us impossible for Methodists to work in our midst without in some measure loosening the bonds of our own members. But we are not, therefore, inclined to think that their presence is prejudicial, though we would prefer that they should work merely as evangelists, and not endeavor to found new and independent Methodist churches among us."

A NEW EGYPTIAN "FIND."

The indefatigable Professor Maspero, Director of the famous Museum for Egyptian Antiquities near Cairo, is again before the scientific world with some new treasures of great importance to the Christian scholar. He has just made a new "find" near Thebes. He has unearthed one of those so-called grotto or cave temples, mentioned sometimes in the annals of the older Coptic Church history, as being built into the old mummy graves. While digging out a sarcophagus in the interior of said cave, a few Coptic inscriptions drew his attention to the remnants of a buried church, the center of which he reached after three days of hard work. Some very interesting inscriptions were now found; among them evidently the closing passage of a sermon directed against the Monophysitic heresy, written in Theban dialect with red ink on a white limestone ground. Also on fragments of tablets of similar material certain sentences from Cyrillus, of Alexandria, concerning the two natures of Christ, together with passages of sermons on the Trinity. The walls of the church were also covered with all kinds of devotional phrases in the Greek, Coptic, and Syriac tongues.

The well-known French scholar, Naville, is now leading the excavations for the Egyptian Exploration Fund with great success in Tel-el-Mashuta, on the Suez Canal; and he has just made several "finds" of

considerable importance to the study of biblical antiquities. Among these are two statuettes containing inscriptions, from which it appears that the biblical Pithom, mentioned in Exodus i, 11, is identical with the first station of the Israelites on leaving Egypt, given as Succoth in Exodus xiii, 20. The full name of this place seems to have been Pithom-Succoth, the former being its religious, and the latter its civil, appellation. And going still further, Naville declares this same spot to be identical with the Heroopolis of the Greeks, meaning a magazine or store-house. One of the statues seems to prove this in bearing the title of a priest as the protector of the store-house of the Temple of Tum. Naville also thinks that he has found the ruins of one of these store-houses in a brick wall surrounding chambers closely walled in. He is firmly convinced of the identity of these uncovered remains with the treasure-cities of Pharaoh mentioned in Exodus i, 11, and he has, therefore, sent several specimens of these excavated bricks to parties in France and Switzerland as venerable relics of the days of the period of oppression of the children of Israel.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The famous Berlin Assyriologist, Professor Eberhard Schrader, has again gratified all the friends and students of Old Testament history with a new and much enlarged edition of his well-known work, "The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament;" with a supplement by Professor Paul Haupt, now making himself favorably known in this country in the line of Oriental Philology. The present issue is about twice the size of the first edition, and the enlargement is largely in the line of Semitic Philology, which has so greatly grown within the last ten years. The extensive glossary makes it a species of Assyriological Commentary to the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament. This arrangement makes the work a convenient one of reference for theologians even out of the line of special Assyriological study, and will insure to it a large circulation among biblical scholars.

The latest work of the French *savant*, De Pressensé, "The Origins: the Problem of Knowledge, the Cosmological Problem, the Anthropological Problem, and the Origin of Morality and Religion," is receiving a good deal of attention in France and Germany. The previous labors of Pressensé belonged especially to theological controversy and political discussion. In applying now to pure philosophy his eminent talents as thinker and author, he does not open to them a field entirely new; he only acknowledges the newly-revealed wants on the double arena where he has hitherto exerted his efforts. The questions of origin, which positivism pretended to interdict to the human mind, have now taken the first place in the researches and polemics and passions of our own epoch among the Positivists themselves. The theologian, Protestant or Cath-

olic, would be behind his era were he to confine himself to the dogmas which divide the Christian communions, or which distinguish faith from reason. He would be lingering in the rear did he feel no other work before him than that of combating the negations or the doubts which confront him in the name of science. He meets bold affirmations, and haughty and absolute solutions of these same problems which were to disappear with ancient theology and metaphysics, and which are now revived under the name of positive, experimental, and scientific theories of the origin of things. This rash philosophy and pretended science, the liberal politician, the Christian firmly attached to the principles and traditions of free investigation, now combats as philosopher and scholar and the Christian and the scientific world will stop and listen to him.

In reply to the insolent device of the Parisian Socialists, "*Ni Dieu ni Maitre*"—Neither God nor Master—the well-known French author and statesman, Jules Simon, has issued an appeal to the more sober-minded of his countrymen, bearing the significant title, "*Dieu, Liberté, Patrie.*" This distinguished patriot appeals to his countrymen in the most persuasive tones to stop a moment in their thoughtless onslaught on every thing that pertains to religion, and to look again before they decide to banish God from the family and the school, and to wage a war against all religion, thinking that they are thus fighting political tyranny. The book is mainly directed against the notorious *seventh article* of Minister Ferry's programme, and is skillful in argument as it is perspicuous and persuasive in its rhetoric. It is poignant in the way in which it puts the pressure on the sore places in recent French policy. Simon greatly regrets that so much of the policy of the day is founded on that of the Revolution and the legislation of 1789, and he appeals for a new policy based on what may be learned from the many errors in the legislation of that period, instead of being a mere renewal of it. Simon was once the idol of the French radical reformers; but they have gone far beyond him, too far, we fear, to hear his sententious and significant words.

A queer theological quidnunc has unearthed some old laws proclaimed by the Prince of Wied to his irreligious subjects in 1761. They seemed to need the rod of discipline, and he applied it with a sternness and severity that remind us of the fabulous Blue Laws falsely attributed to New England: "1. Every Sunday and religious holiday all the able-bodied members of a household must go to church, except one to take care of the house, under a penalty of one florin. 2. One florin fine for keeping on one's hat during prayer or sermon. 3. All babbling or other noise in the church will be visited with the same fine. 4. Every Friday and fast-day at least one member from each household must attend church, under penalty. 5. The elders of the churches must hand to the pastor a list of all persons who violate these regulations, under a penalty of ten florins fine for neglecting this duty. 6. The pastor must make a monthly report of these delinquents to the authorities, and the following Sunday this report must be publicly read in all the pulpits of the land."

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

A Critique of Design-Arguments. A Historical Review and Free Examination of the Methods of Reasoning in Natural Theology. By L. E. Hicks, Professor of Geology in Denison University, Granville, Ohio. 12mo, pp. 417. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The special leading purpose of Professor Hicks' Critique is to draw a separation in natural theology between the argument from *Order* and the argument from *Design*, leaving to the latter alone the term *Teleology*, and for the former coining the new and euphonious term *Eutaxiology*. And the writer's main position is that *order* is a mark of *intelligence*, proved to be such by induction, distinctly and independently of all thought of purpose or *end*. The theistic argument, then, is properly divided into two great co-ordinate departments, Eutaxiology and Teleology. He then draws out a full-length and interesting history of Natural Theology, characterizing each leading author in succession in a style of concise, lucid, and trenchant criticism, but bringing each one to the test of having clearly distinguished the *order* argument from the *end* argument. If the author boggles or falters in making this distinction, he is in the end summarily executed. And as the Professor at the first announces himself as primal originator of this true distinction, of course the summary execution aforesaid becomes nearly a total massacre.

It is pleasant and usually profitable to see a scientist come down from his high chair in the domain of science into our humbler arena, with the profession, and as in the present case with the reality, of being well read in a department of theology, and being for the time an actual theologian. The converse has usually been the real fact; the theologian has, like Buckland, Hitchcock, and Dawson, more usually become a scientist. Our present instance plays a trenchant part. His style is clear, concise, trenchant, often sarcastic, and always readable. His sentences speak for themselves immediately and upon a single reading. His logic is vigorous if not always conclusive. And if he now and then, as a live scientist, feels it becoming to snub the theologians as an inferior class of intellects, it is simply the fashion of his guild. Without a due degree of superciliousness he would be an inadequate representative of his class.

But has he made out his thesis that eutaxiology is co-ordinate with teleology? We think that his new term is worthy of

acceptance by theists, and that his argument is valuable in drawing a fuller attention of theistic writers to the importance and value of the order argument. But we fail to cognize that eutaxiology is any thing more than a subordinate of teleology. An eutaxy is not seen to be objectively impregnated with intelligence as with a subtile element. Intelligence is seen in eutaxy only as it is seen to be *wrought by an intellective power*, and so it seems to be teleological in its inferences. Order is no otherwise a proof of intelligence than as being established by an intelligent being; and so being a designed *end* is purely teleologic. Even our author seems to say this much, abundantly. Thus, in a fine passage on page 17, he says: "What, then, is this impressive fact of celestial harmony —this majestic and orderly movement of vast bodies through boundless space—what is it but a divine thought *impressed* upon the Cosmos? Chemical combinations obey the law of definite and multiple proportions; can nature count them? Crystals present, some simple and complete, others modified and complex, geometrical forms; is nature a *geometrician?* Plants and inferior animals are built upon the radiate plan, the higher animals, having, on the contrary, distinct right and left sides, dorsal and ventral aspects; is there any thought of symmetry in this? or any thought of symmetry and number both in the parts of flowers and the fractional series in phyllotaxy? Men, then, are the 'types of structure' in zoology—a definite pattern or fashion running through whole classes and sub-kingdoms; a *plan* it would seem, and so the comparative anatomists call it." Here in every instance the eutaxy is traced to a designing formative agency. Thought is said to be "*impressed* upon the Cosmos;" "chemical combinations *obey*," etc.; that is, are designedly overruled. And so the terms *built*, *pattern*, *plan*, are all the expression of teleology. And again he says: "The fundamental proposition of eutaxiology is, that order and harmony are marks of intelligence. They imply that there has been *a preconceived plan* to which the phenomena in question have been made to conform." What can be more teleological than a *plan preconceived* to which the phenomena have been *made to conform?* It supposes an *end* predetermined and accomplished.

The Professor, somewhat untenably we think, satirizes the old teleologists for affirming the maxim that all things were made for man. And he rejects indignantly the claim that adverse things in the world are explicable on the theory that a mixed condition of things is a condition of human development and

probation. He does this without deigning an argument, with a somewhat lofty flounce.

And yet there appears a grand truth in the maxim of these "old teleologists," that *all things were made for man.* It is luminously written, however invisible to our dear Professor's keen eyes, not only on the records of Genesis and the moral consciousness of man, but on the monuments of science. By this it is not meant that in being made for man in the great scheme they are not made for themselves, and for each other, also. We recollect that Pressensé once very acutely analyzed the profound system by which the Pope made it the highest interest for the Romanistic priesthood to sustain the highest claims of the Pope's supremacy; so that the priests existed not only for their own dear selves, and for each other, subordinately, but for the successor of St. Peter supremely. They magnified themselves and each other most by clothing him with infallibility and arming him with omnipotence; so, in the system of our creation, it is every animal for himself and for each other, and all for man. The best scientists of our own day have found, in the very anatomical make of the lower species, types and prophecies pointing to man as the final aim of all. All were constructively and predictively for man. And if we rightly contemplate the great fact, referred to on another page, that new-species creation ceased when man appeared, we may not only see that all were so estopped for man's sake, but we may realize how the structure of the earth was constructed to furnish a theater for man's great probationary drama. And if man be, as we suppose Professor Hicks believes, an immortal being, and especially if a probationary being with eternal alternatives before him, then he is more valuable, not only than the entire globe of dead matter, but of the entire mass of perishable animal forms that preceded him. Subordinately the earth existed for itself and for those transient landholders; subordinately they existed for themselves; but supremely they existed as an introductory predictive and tributary prelude to the probationary drama of Immortals. Hence we stand unflinchingly before Professor Hicks' peremptory irony: "In his [Henslow's] view all the physical evils which affect the brute creation, and have harassed *them* [*sic*] with pain and suffering, and done them to death [*sic*] by millions during long ages before man appeared upon the scene, all this was for the sake of surrounding man with inideal [unideal, realistic] circumstances. This may be very orthodox theology, but it is derived from some other source than nature."

Yes, sir, it is "very orthodox theology;" and it is based upon "nature," moral consciousness, and Holy Writ. It is the adamantine rock of truth, and the Professor might as well attempt to storm Gibraltar with a battery of green peas as to disturb its foundations. For is not this mixed scene of woe and weal the necessary condition for the battle of Immortality? Can immortal man's character of heroic excellence be attained without hard battle and sublime conquest? And if Darwin was right, in an imaginative moment, in descrying "something sublime" in a vast pile of mere successive animal generations, how much more sublime to find them an epic of long-ascending progress, winding off in the glorious triumph-field of millions of immortal victors! Mr. Beecher lately said, suggestively, "that pain is an educator." Struggle is a gymnasium that forms robust and exalted being. Physical difficulties train the body, the basis of the whole personality, to hardness and power; stratagem and adventurous problem develop the brain and enlarge the intellect; temptations and trials, both of an adverse and of a seductive quality, form the moral character, and prepare it for the reception of the inbreathed personal *spirit*, by which man enters on his probationary training for an immortal survivorship. If Prof. Hicks thinks the prelude is a very long one for a short after-piece, we reply, that God is slow and patient because God is eternal. He is no way nervous or fretful with this long preparatory lapse of time. And how short or long the after-piece—that is, of our probationary time—will be, no one knows; but this we may know, that the trilogy goes in its part third into eternity and has no end.

After Haeckel our Professor denounces the "absurdity" of supposing "sin, disease, crime, despair, and death" are "the means" of "probation for man." Our answer is that the misery and despair of the animal ages preluding man are exaggerated. Let us see.

Animal life has been in all ages an enjoyment. This fact in behalf of the Creator is universally proclaimed by the unanimous suffrage of all animal beings. Do they not flee from death as the highest evil just because *life is the highest blessing?* Do they not defend the life that God has given them with their highest bravery and their utmost strength? And animal annihilation is in itself, apart from pain in dying, no suffering, for the non-existent does not suffer after death any more than before birth or being. Prof. Clifford, an eminent disbeliever in immortality, prescribed to be written on his tombstone that cessation is

nothingness is no evil to be regretted, for the non-existent cannot regret. And slight, probably, is the pain of dying. A physiologist in a late "Popular Science Monthly" maintained that even for man death is painless. Dr. Livingstone, who was once nearly shaken to death by a lion, declares that there was a pleasure in the sensation. It is quite possible that the mouse, when dandled by the paws of the playful cat, enjoys the fun nearly as well as pussy herself. Once, in Florida, we saw a winged limpkin in the hands of a ruthless sportsman, who was breaking the poor bird's limbs for relics, slowly fading away with its beautiful eyes into death, as if soothed into a sweet slumber, and we doubt not it suffered less pain than the pitying beholder. And what is that "despair" but the hopelessness of retaining an earnestly loved existence? And yet what is that so much dreaded "death" but a mere cessation? The insect and the animal, then, are organisms animated with a glimpse of life, briefly enjoyed, and then ceasing. We do suppose that, with their inferior nervous systems, they enjoy less and suffer less than man. No animal below man, not even the scorpion, commits suicide. Schelling said that nature sleeps in vegetables, dreams in animals, and lives in man. God gives the animal a dreamy glimpse of life, and death is nothing but its stopping. And we do suppose that the lower natures of animals, like the natures of lower men, find their highest happiness in the raptures of the fight. Intellectual and moral beings, like professors of geology and students in theology, look upon peace as the condition of happiness; but lower natures, like pugilists, duelists, and many soldiers and heroes, as well as lions, wild cats, serpents, and wasps, despise such monotony, and think no life worth living which is not rife with excitement, battle, danger, and death. With mere animals there is no immorality in all this, for they are no more moral beings than the cliffs that break in avalanches or the cyclones that sweep the prairie. As the brave soldier prefers death in battle by sword, by bayonet, or by artillery, to death by disease, so the lower animal, if he could choose, would prefer to die by the shark's tooth, the serpent's venom, or the sportsman's shot, rather than by slow starvation. And when we remember that life is basally an enjoyment, we may recognize all the glad-like motions and voices of animals as showing a superstructure of happiness overlying that base. Do not all the voices from lower nature denounce the heresy of Pessimism? In spite of the Professor's taunt, we recognize with Paley proof of enjoyment "in the gambols of the shrimp," in the riotous

song of the mocking-bird, in the magnificent soar of the eagle. Take the sum total of pleasant existence, and it stands a grand majority over the sum of suffering. The whole animal world is in virtual contract with the Creator to endure all the pain for the sake of the vast amount of gratification. And the man does not well understand God and nature who does not read in the palæontological ages scenes of enjoyment, humble and homely, dreamy and yet excited, predicting the unfolding in the future of the kingdom of God on earth to be inaugurated by the advent of Man.

Nor do we quite concur with the Professor in satirizing "the old teleologists" for finding design in minute adaptations and uses. Sir Isaac Newton said: "It seems probable to me that God, in the beginning, formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles, of such size and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportions to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them!" This conception he applies specially to the astronomical bodies, but why not also to all the other relations between nature and the living beings on the globe, and supremely man? God has so formed matter as to be malleable and pliable to all the uses of a creature framed like man with wonderful prehensile and manipulating limbs and formative intellect; and he has so adjusted the body, limbs, intellect, and propensities of man that between man and varied nature there arises a correlation rife with a history of infinitely numerous minute correlations all foreknown to the divine Mind, and all comprehended in the divine Plan. Thence we may say, loosely, Every thing is made for the uses, good and possibly bad, of man. And the number of minute designs and uses is infinite. Was the goose-quill meant for man to write with? Yes; for it was endowed with the definite properties; and man was so framed as to be developed to a period when that would be needed and suitable; and the divine Author of human history truly foreknew that combination. We therefore take no stock in Prof. Hicks' disgust at such a countless number of petty instances of designed utility as are found in the books of "the old teleologists." We do believe, for instance, that the mouth was made to bite a piece of food fairly proportioned to the capacity of the stomach. Nor are we at all defeated when a particular teleology is found to be based on a mistake as to scientific fact, or even three successive mistaken facts, (as adduced by the "Westminster Review,") for in each case, however

mistaken as to fact, the reasoning was right, and the supposed correlation would be a fair and true case of design.

Mr. Hicks assumes the chair professorial, and gives a lecture magisterial, to the Theologians, in the style of his guild, on their dealings with Darwinism. He assumes the truth of the current error that they have abused Darwin personally; that they have opposed his *ism* bigotedly; and he advises, as a prudent course, that theologians never take issue with new scientific theories. His facts are mistakes and his advice is rigmarole. The record will show, we think, that the first grand onset made on Darwinism was made by the great secular Quarterlies, from scientists, and on scientific grounds. And then our Professor ought to know that all startling new science must, of necessity and right, be subjected to crucial scrutiny by the old science. All new announcements of truth are bound to stand trial and demonstrate their right to exist. This is the law, and a rightful law. Science obeys it, and fights the new-comer just as truly as Theology. In fact, it may with great truth be said, that the old exploded interpretations of the Bible were simply but old science concreted around the text, so that the original blunder was imported from old science. The concretion was so perfect that it seemed an identification with the text itself, and to remove it seemed to be a laceration of the records. Such being the case, the advice given either to scientists or theologians to drop at the first shot from the pretended new science, though it be but a blank cartridge, is about as wise as "the Pope's bull against the comet." Both Scientists and Theologians will rightfully challenge the new claimants, require exhibition of the credentials, demand their subjection to the most critical tests, and finally accept them as science when duly and conclusively verified. And this is the rightful course Theologians have pursued.

Our author furnishes a genial review of Janet's "Final Causes," in which he passes some condemnatory criticisms upon the use of the *word* "cause" as a designation of the *intended results* or so-called *ends* of an agent's action, which we consider entirely just. To say that the *end* at which an agent aims, teleologically, is a *cause* of the aim, in the sense of necessitating as all positively efficient cause does, is making two really efficient causes, and is contradictory to volitional freedom. And we may add that the word *end* as now used in teleology is not much better. The ordinary use of the word *end*, which ever obtrudes itself upon the thought, even in teleological discourse, is *termination beyond which there is no*

subsequent, as the *end* of a chain ; whereas the teleological *end* is often only a middle link. Nor does the word *end* in teleology suggest a previous process of which it is the special conclusion, as the word *result* does. The form *intended-result* precisely designates the thing. And the best single term is that used by Dr. Winchell, *intentionality*. But while indorsing and, perhaps, even extending the Professor's criticisms thus far, we dissent from his statement, for which he quotes Lesage and Janet, that "the final cause is the *motive* that determines an intelligent being to will an end." Certainly not. The end is that *result*, or object, which the agent intends to accomplish ; the motive is the *inducement* on account of which he intends the *end*. For instance, be the *end* or intended-result the killing of a man, the *motive* for such an end may be revenge, or robbery, or the removal of a rival or obstacle. And if by a change of the status you make either of these motives the *end*, you will find some other point coming into view as *motive* for that *end*.

Methodism and Literature. A Series of Articles from several writers on the Literary Enterprise and Achievements of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by F. A. ARCHIBALD, D.D. With a Catalogue of Select Books for the Home, the Church, and the Sunday-School. 12mo, pp. 427. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

This volume contains twenty-five essays written upon our Church literature by leading pens among us ; an extended catalogue of books, by authors not all Methodists, for the guidance of all who inquire what to read ; a catalogue of books of missionary literature specially; the whole being supplemented with an index of authors specified. It is an interesting survey of our literary past, and some of the articles are vigorous and inspiring.

We have croakers among us whose *animus* is to depreciate all that comes from our own press. And, to the croaker's eye, all commendation of our literature from our own press is set down as perfunctory buncombe. They may indeed feel a little startled when an outside authority speaks in eulogistic terms. To them it comes like an unexpected thought when the *Evangelist* says, frankly: "No religious body in this country can present, we believe, so various and extensive a collection of denominational literature as the Methodist Church."

Among the writers, Dr. Hunt appropriately gives a succinct history of our Book Concern. It increases our denominational self-respect to realize that the inauguration of a literature was

one of the earliest enterprises on which our founders entered. And we think, too, how much was lost when the twice-burning of Cokesbury College so discouraged our fathers that they gave up collegiate work as disapproved by Providence, and then, as if in self-defense, fell to depreciating college education and "college-made preachers."

Dr. Walden, in an article on Circulation of our Literature, rich with factual and statistical arguments, shows *what has been done*, what we *have failed to do*, and what we *must do*. As to the first point, he says:

> The books and periodicals, as compared with those of other denominations, have been relatively cheap, and, a large proportion of them having been sold by the Book Concerns and Depositories at a discount from the retail or published price, the margin of profit has not been large, and yet the sales have been so great, as to yield an aggregate profit of about three million dollars since the New York Book Concern was destroyed by fire in 1836. During this forty-five years (notwithstanding the loss by fire in Chicago, in 1871, and the losses on non-paying periodicals and depositories established by General Conference, aggregating about four hundred thousand dollars) there has been an increase of $1,136,196 54 in the net capital of the two Book Concerns; and there has been paid out by order of General Conference, during the same period, above fifteen hundred thousand dollars for the benefit of the worn-out preachers, for the support of the Bishops, and for other connectional purposes, including $366.909 62 to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, under adjustment of the suit brought in the United States Supreme Court. The amount received for the books actually put into circulation in 1881 was $874,191, and for the periodicals, $494.334; total, $1,368,525. During the past thirty years, (since 1851,) the sales of books and periodicals by the New York Book Concern and its Depositories have amounted to $16.997.331 28; of Western Book Concern and its Depositories, $15,194,931 02; total in thirty years, $32,192,262 30.

But while our *periodicals* have, as time passes, increased immensely, our books, even Sunday-school books, are circulated fewer, in proportion to our people, than formerly. Our ministry are professedly too busy, perhaps really too proud, to engage in the poor old Wesleyan business of circulating books. As one remedy, Dr. Walden enlarges upon the value of church libraries; and these will be established, and our Church become a reading Church, just in proportion to the interest the pastor takes in the enterprise. Our impression is that herein we need a great "revival" among our ministry.

Dr. Arthur Edwards next gives us a stirring answer to the query why Methodism prints. Whitefield said that the devil should not have all the good tunes, and Dr. Edwards thinks ditto of the effective machinery. "In the olden time, as well as now," he says, "our power and influence were, apparently, more in the pulpit and on the platform, but we believe the paramount influence was in the tract, leaflet, biography, hymn book, and Scripture,

which came from the Methodist presses, and were read and read again when the itinerant was absent or asleep. We make this point coolly and confidently."

Next comes what we may call a trilogy on the right and the wrong sort of reading. First, Dr. James M. Freeman gives a scathing condemnation of pernicious literature, especially of the "dime novel" class. Rev. N. B. C. Love furnishes a neat essay on what we do read, and what we should read. Next, Dr. Ross Houghton closes the triad with a full and eloquent portraiture of the *evils of indiscriminate novel-reading.* This trilogy is a pealing alarm which our ministry should hear. We asked a young minister, Did you ever preach a sermon on *Reading?* Answer, No. Did you ever hear one preached? No. Did you ever hear of one being preached by any body? No. Do you not think that one ought to be preached annually by every minister? Yes. It is reading, now, that forms the public character. It is bad reading, both immoral and irreligious, that is fearfully threatening to form it to a debased and ruined model. And yet so momentous a topic, so full of thrilling and ominous interest, is left untouched almost unanimously by our pulpit. A moral *Index Expurgatorius* ought to be established by the strong moral sense of the Christian Church.

Five essays next unfold the character of our literature in its varied departments. Our biographical literature is exhibited richly by Dr. Watkins; our historical by Dr. Hoyt, of the Western Advocate; hymnological by Dr. Hemenway; biblical, theological, and doctrinal ably set forth in two essays by the editor, Dr. Archibald. Among the contributors of the remaining essays of the volume we find Dr. Fowler, Bishop Warren, Dr. Alabaster, and Dr. Wise. Of particular practical value are two by Dr. Wise on the ideal of a Sunday-school library, and a plan for organizing a church library.

In the survey of our literature, of course, absolute completeness could not be expected. The five essays could be expanded into a volume. The editor has well performed his task, both in his selections and his original contributions. Several fine *brochures* have been overlooked. One of the finest essays that ever proceeded from a Methodist pen is young Randolph Mercein's book on Natural Goodness. Our belief has ever been that had his life been spared to us he would have been about the brightest star in our intellectual firmament. But we are most surprised to look in vain for any characterization of the mind and writings of that

pure son of genius, Bishop Edward Thomson. Had this volume been issued from our New York house, free as our East and West are from sectional jealousy—we wish our North and South were equally free—it might be thought that we neglected him from our want of due appreciation. But when his own West, where his name still wakens its rich enthusiasm, forgets, we Easterners just venture respectfully to ask the reason why.

One of the advantages of our Book Concern to young Methodist authors has not been sufficiently realized. A manuscript is offered to the publishers, and the editor finds it meritorious but not remunerative with our special market. The author is then told to go to a leading publisher, and offer his book with the assurance to the publisher that our house will take a small edition. Under that inducement more than one work has already been published.

Elements of Methodism. A Series of Short Lectures addressed to one Beginning a Life of Godliness. By D. Stevenson, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 183. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883. Price, 75 cents.

Dr. Stevenson was "at a loss to know what book to select" for the use of young converts and probationers, and so made one himself. He has made a good one. It is on much the same plan as Dr. Bostwick Hawley's "Manual" and Binney's "Theological Compend," which have for some time stood as predecessors in the same field, but have not rendered successors and coadjutors like Dr. Stevenson superfluous. His purpose is to transmute the solid meat of the Articles, the Ritual, and the Discipline into milk for babes. Avoiding the technicalities of the theological expert and the profundities of theology itself, he clothes the simpler lines of our theology in popular style, easy of comprehension, while correct in statement and worthy of all circulation broadcast.

But there is one thing wanting in this work and in its predecessors. Though in the form of lectures, we have not discovered one instance of direct address to the dear young convert trusting in a glorious salvation and aspiring for the full enjoyment of communion with saints on earth. There is no use, we believe, of the second person, singular or plural. There is no emotion, no unction, no tenderness, no joy. We know no model in this respect like the old Heidelberg Catechism. There, for instance, the catechized is not treated to merely an abstract statement of the doctrine of the atonement, but he is most tenderly taught, with strict doctrinal truth, how the blessed Saviour died on

account of his sins to bring him into holiness and heaven. It is possible to state every article of our faith with direct address in winning, emotional language. We need not divide the emotional from the didactic, having one part for the dogma and another part for the "application," one part for the head and another part for the heart, but both should be identified into one. We have done this in our preaching, and so the people have loved our Methodism, and have taken in our theology without knowing that it was theology, just as Moliere's man had been speaking "prose" all his life without knowing that it was "prose." But when we come to our catechisms—what petrifactions! Not one of them, we fear, is fit to win a child's heart. And our "popular compendiums" and probationers' manuals, though better, are not very much better.

Suggested Modifications of the Revised Version of the New Testament. By ELIAS RIGGS, D.D., LL.D., Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople. 12mo, pp. 94. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1883.

Dr. Riggs published some years ago a volume of suggested emendations of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, which, as published by anticipation, is available for the use of the Revisers beforehand. His *suggestions* for the New Testament are available only for a retouching the revision already made, which he intimates that a majority of the Revisers themselves are convinced to be necessary in order to public acceptance; an ultimate acceptance which he thinks desirable.

From his long residence in the East, and his rare familiarity with oriental dialects, as well as his sound judgment, any *suggestions* from him are entitled to and will receive very respectful attention. Of the New Version he says: "It would take far more space than these suggestions occupy to mention the places in which, in my judgment, they have greatly improved the common version, removing many inaccuracies, infelicities, and inconsistencies." The method he suggests for the retouching indicates the prime causes that have produced the defects which are the obstacles to the adoption of the new work. "The Revision Committees should put the general care of the work into the hands of a sub-committee of at least three men, who should devote their whole time to it as long as it is in progress. Such a committee would be able to render available all the aid offered from without, to watch over the thorough consistency and harmony of the different parts of the version, and to report to the general

committees the changes needed to secure these objects. Devoting their whole time and energy to it, they would be far more likely to keep in mind the great variety of points, often minute, which demand attention in the progress of such a work, than ten times as many men of equal ability who are earnestly devoting six sevenths of their time to other duties." Such a comprehensive revision of the whole work, bringing it into unity, inviting suggestions, both written and printed, from all quarters of Christian scholarship, and availing itself of the plentiful discussions that have taken place, would, we trust, secure a version which the public would finally accept.

God's Timepiece for Man's Eternity. By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 445. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

Dr. Cheever is a stalwart Protestant Evangelical. The Bible is to him, in thought and word, the word of God. Like Wesley, he holds that "God hath written a book," and above all other authorship and all other literature he would say, "Give me that Book." He believed in what Gilbert Haven called "a whole Bible."

And he places the argument on the true ground—Christ. The Old Testament is Christ foreshadowed; the New Testament is Christ narrated. Such special pleadings as Professor Browne's slender attempt in the Independent at showing Christ's non-acknowledgment of Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch would reach him as a volley of small shot would an iron-clad. And this is the true, firm, unwavering position maintained by him with a healthful spirit; not because he is impervious to valid argument, but because there is no valid argument to be encountered. The Bible of the ancient Jewish Church, of the Samaritan and the Septuagint Versions, of Christ and his apostles, of the early and later Christian Church, is, essentially and as a whole, whatever special passages may have been interpolated as admitted by a duly wise conservatism, is the CANON which no assault can invalidate or bring into patient debate, except as with actual infidels alone.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Theories of Darwin, and their Relation to Philosophy, Religion, and Morality. By RUDOLF SCHMID, President of the Theological Seminary at Schönthal, Würtemberg. Translated from the German by G. A. Zimmermann, Ph.D. With an introduction by the Duke of Argyll. 12mo. pp. 410. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co. 1883.

An important contribution to the discussion of the question of the Antiquity of Man awakened by the genius of Darwin. It is especially valuable to us as giving a historical view of the predecessors of Darwin, of his successors and exaggerators, and of the position of the present public mind of Germany on the subject. He refers also to England, but seems uninformed of any American writers, mentioning no scientists but Leidy and Marsh slightly, and entirely silent of Dawson, Southall, Winchell, and Le Conte.

Very properly, though not happily, in his selection of technics he distinguishes the theory of Origins into three questions, namely, of Descent, of Evolution, and of Natural Selection. The doctrine of *Descent* signifies the genetic origin of all species by births from one primeval ancestry, and is what we would call *genetic derivationism*. *Evolution* implies that such descent has always been without sudden leaps or transmutations, and is opposed to what Le Conte styles "paroxysmal generation," but admits only of the normal variation. This we consider a narrowing of the generic comprehension of this term productive of ambiguity. *Natural Selection* implies that all the varieties of species arise from merely normal variations most favorable to existence, thus producing the survival of the forms most adapted to persist. Our author believes that the scientific mind at the present time increasingly maintains the doctrine of *Descent* or *Derivationism*. *Evolution* in its stringent form seems declining, and *Natural Selection* still more so. The *fourth* view, what he calls *heterogenic generation*, that is, transmutation by leaps, sudden transformism; and a *fifth* view, called by him "primitive generation," (but which, being parentless, is no "generation" at all,) that is, original species-creation, he believes may ultimately obtain acceptance by the public mind of the future. But he concludes that at the present time neither of these views is demonstrated, all being as yet in a state of "hypothetic" uncertainty.

This historical and scientific survey forms Part First of the volume. Part Second discusses the relations of Darwinian Theo-

ries in Reference to Religion—that is. to Theism and Biblicism —and to Morality. The general view maintained is that, limited to its true significance and modesty, (with raving Hæckelism eliminated,) Derivationism is hostile to neither Theism, Religion, nor the Bible.

The style is full, flowing, and animated. The spirit of the author is frank and candid. But the translator should have brought him into briefer sentences and a more easy and lucid English. His diction is sometimes circumlocutory, his periods are often long and involved, requiring the rapid reader often to stop, and re-peruse both single sentences and extended paragraphs and chapters. The compensation is that, if interested in the subject, you are amply rewarded for both the perusal and the study of a very symmetrical and complete exposition.

To our view Dr. Schmid concedes too much to the argument for the antiquity of man from the fossil remains. He marshals out the old and well-refuted instances of the Neandersthal skull, the Engis skull, and also two human skulls from Coblentz in 1873, in which were "eight marks of lower formation." The Neandersthal skull was really superior to the average Malay skull; the Engis was, as Mr. Huxley said, "a fair average human skull." The scarcity of questionable skulls is a great disproof of their being members of a great past race. As to the skull with its "eight marks," Southall furnishes the following exemplar caution against mistaking modern idiots for ancient fossils.

> The Anthropological Society of Berlin [M. Virchow remarked] had recently received two skulls, one belonging to a man. the other to a woman, obtained in some excavations at Athens, and contemporary with the Macedonian epoch. These crania had a capacity, said M. Virchow, "which was at the present day regarded as insufficient to give a normal physical development. That of the female had the capacity of the cranium of a savage of New Holland: the other was a little larger. One might regard that of the woman as Mongolian by its anatomical characters, and if it had been found at Foorfoos it would certainly have been considered *as coming from a very inferior and very primitive race.*"

Nevertheless, it belonged to a woman named Glykera, and her rank was indicated by the precious relics found in her tomb.

Highest in authority on the origin of man, our author ranks Von Baer, "the pioneer in the region of the history of individual development;" and some of the views attributed to him are very noteworthy. Von Baer "is by no means disinclined to the idea of the origin of species through descent, whether in gradual development or in leaps;" but he confesses "with a modesty worthy of acknowledgment his *total ignorance concerning the*

manner in which certain forms of life, especially the higher ones, originated. The origin of higher species without the supposition of a descent is to him unexplainable, because the individuals of these species are, in their first development of life, *so dependent on their mother.* Furthermore, he points out the fact that in early periods of the earth the organic forming power which ruled *must have been a higher one than it is at the present;* in like manner as the first period of life in the embryonic development of individuals is to-day the most productive. This higher power of organization, he says, could consist in a higher power of *changing organisms into new species,* as well as a higher power of *producing a new species* through primitive generation, [that is, parentless origination of new forms;] or it could consist in both. In general, there is no reason to suppose that primitive generations which took place at the first origination of life on earth, could not have been repeated later and oftener. The nearer a generation was to these individuals originated through primitive generation, the greater was undoubtedly its flexibility and changeableness; the farther, the greater the fixity of type."

Here are utterances that seem almost to put us back to the Mosaic evolution and parentless creation of man.

1. The highest science here confesses, after all the boasts of having explained every thing, a "total ignorance" as to the origination of the highest forms. Science therefore vacates the field, and leaves it to (not "*special* creation" as it has been absurdly called, but to) organic and law-ruled general creation.

2. This scientific "total ignorance" of the origin of the highest forms may well be confessed. For how can an important limb half formed be put forth without being an incumbrance destructive in the race of life; without being atrophied by disuse, without being absorbed by repeated cross generations? And how can the definite specialization of such limb, its completion and adaptation to a variety of complex special uses, be imagined unteleologically? And this argument applies more forcibly to the higher species than to the lower. And when we notice Schmid's further statement, that no new species has appeared during the human period, and so no origination of species has ever been *seen* by man, what ground is there for the denial of parentless origination of new species of even the highest order?

3. The impossibility of a new form arising and maintaining existence, independently of a mother, can be solved only by a miraculous supposition, or a supernature above the plane of our pres-

nature. More than fifty years ago, Dr. Olin, in an eloquent passage in a published sermon, forcibly argued the truth of the Mosaic accounts of the creation of man from the long helplessness of the human infant. The argument seems to stand good to-day. Says the rationalistic philosopher, Fichte: "Who, then, educated the first human pair? A spirit bestowed its care upon them, as is laid down down in an ancient and venerable original record, which, taken altogether, contains the profoundest and the loftiest wisdom, and presents those results to which all philosophy must at last return."—*Kitto*, article *Adam*.

4. This requirement of a greater primitive plasticity, and even of species-creation in earlier ages, has, we may suggest, an apparent accordance with the linguist's requirement, noticed on another page, of a primitive power of word-forming by original creation, now lost, leaving nothing but word-formation by derivation.

Schmid justly and effectively emphasizes the fact that *no new species has appeared on the earth since the creation of man.* The variant forms of species are of too low and equivocal a character to form any exception to the universality of this statement. And this is a very significant view. We know thence what constitutes the sabbatic rest of the Creator, when with man's formation He closed the evolutions of new forms of life. And we see how we are now in the cosmical sabbath of God; and how the creative days of Moses were therefore cosmic days. This view spreads the surface of the earth before us as the area of a definite period, an æon, a dispensation, or (as Tayler Lewis invented the term) a "time-world." It is man's day, in which he is ruler over the earlier races that waited his advent. And man is not merely, in our author's phrase, "a somatic-psychical" being, but a somatic-psychic-pneumatic being. He is endowed with capacities and intuitions, correlating him with supernal existence. Room is here found for all the conditions of responsibility and eschatology. The kingdom of nature opens full space for the kingdom of probation.

If we rightly understand Dr. Schmid, on page 62, he objects to the sudden creation of parentless man from the fact that "our imagination refuses to accept it." And on page 219, quoting Darwin's crude metaphor rejecting the idea "that in innumerable periods in the earth's history certain elemental atoms have been commanded suddenly to flash into living tissues," our author promptly adds, "and he is no doubt right in rejecting it." And similarly scientific men exclaim: "Can we suppose that a full-grown man should start up all at once into existence?" We

call Darwin's metaphor *crude* because we see no demand for a "flash" in a process where no combustion is needed or supposable. And we query whether our "imagination" can be any decisive authority against a process taking place before the period of man's existence or perception. The "imagination" which so "refuses" is an imagination fastened to the conception of processes taking place during the present order of formations; that is, during the above-mentioned human period in which no new species has appeared. Our imagination as really refuses to picture how the huge limbs of the great mammals pushed themselves forth. It refuses to picture how the frost concretes on a tree's limbs and leaves, or how it forms trees and varied shapes upon the morning window-glass. Least of all can we imagine the rapid spontaneities that shape man's limbs in the womb. So far as picturability is concerned, we can as easily conceive how the elements may condense from the atmosphere into the form and substance of a human body, as how the clouds condense into the form of a hay-cock. And surely a Christian author can hardly claim that "our imagination refuses to accept" or picture the sudden emergence from vacant space of "the two men in white apparel" figured to our vision in Acts i, 10.

In his important chapter on the relation of Darwinism to the Genesis history he adopts essentially the theory of periodic days. He subjects the cosmogonic narrative to the Decalogue, (as we have heretofore done, "Commentary," vol. iv, page 315,) holding that the creative week is a conception adopted as typical of the human week. The creative days are "days of God" just as the days of our human week are days of man. Yet the order of the days of the cosmogonic week has a basis in the geologic order. If you take the successive great days at their zenith, their noon-day, you can trace, he thinks, but does not emphasize the thought, a coincidence with the scientific order. We should not hesitate to add the obvious hymnic character of the Mosaic chapter. And so doing *we* find no difficulty in the reconciliation. We believe the true view of the chapter to be attained.

On the Creation of Man and the Edenic history our author is, we think, too concessive. He adopts the untenable assumption that the creative statements in Genesis i and ii contradict each other! We hold that they are so complementary to each other as to prove them to be correspondent parts of a single design. Genesis i to ii, 3, gives the narrative in historic order down to the creation of man. Genesis ii, 4, then begins with man, and

traces his surroundings in the order preparatory to the fall. As the first of these documents relates how Adam arose, so the second narrates how he fell. They are therefore correspondent to each other, a twofold one.

Next Schmid furnishes no conception of the probable nature of man's creation. He spends his pages in professing how he will not take positions adverse to the reconciliation of Moses and Darwin. They are pages of diffuse weakness and submissiveness to a dubious scientism. His book has, however, aided our own thought to positive positions which he surrenders. What forbids our stalwartly maintaining the divine, parentless origination of man? Von Baer, the highest authority, affirms the total ignorance of science how the higher species came into existence. That clears the space. We then reject the notion that "our imagination refuses" the conception of the concretion of elements into a perfect human person. Is there one valid reason that logically compels the denial of man's origination by direct divine power, in accordance with laws of creation previous to the human period? The whole professedly scientific argument seems based on the fact that these pre-human originations have never been seen by man.

Our author quotes as expressive of "a right feeling," forsooth, Darwin's sentence, "For my own part, I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey . . . or from that old baboon . . . as from a savage," etc. "Right feeling" or not, it is not the biblical "feeling;" for that marks man off from the lower races by a direct creative interposition of God, a supernal breath, and a divine "image." Adam, before the fall, is in Schmid's handling a man that happened, a respectable ordinary gardener. He has no transcendency, no immortalization antithetic to the incarnation, no inauguration. To him there indeed "belonged the possibility of having a sinless development," "the possibility of obtaining an exemption from death and all evils by way of a self-controlling submission to God." That seems to be a "conditional immortality."

What makes this surrender more unfortunate is its ignoring the grand tradition recorded on the memory of all the great races of a golden age, an Edenic origin, and a primal fall, so vividly set forth by Lenormant, as insurance of a historic reality. We said in a former Quarterly, and we repeat, that Evolution has no right to forget that historicity, but must adjust its scheme to its positive reality. How much more should biblical defense

insist on that adjustment, and firmly maintain the truth of our Edenic history! The Psalm of the Creation which commences Genesis is poetically true; the paradise narrative that follows is historically true. Woe be to the pseudo-Christian biblicism that surrenders either.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Gesta Christi; or, A History of Human Progress Under Christianity. By CHARLES LORING BRACE. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 496. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1883.

There is a great *geographical argument* in favor of Christianity. Spread the map of the world before you. Take your pencil and draw a boundary line around the lands that are eminently the civilized, and you have nearly defined the boundaries of Christianity. Withdraw from all other lands the enlightenment derived directly from Christian lands, and you leave them in a darkness that enhances the significant contrast. Take again your pencil, and draw a line around those Christian lands in which there is the open Bible read and taught without restraint, and you have mainly defined the lands of *pre-eminent* civilization. And so powerful is this Christian civilization that it cannot be conquered. Ages there were in which, in the contest with barbarism, civilization was often weak, and became terribly overwhelmed and suppressed. That time has passed. At this day our scientific civilization has to be checked and reined in by our Christian civilization, or it would sweep, as with an annihilating dynamite, all barbarism from the face of the earth. And it is hourly increasing in power and progress. If the strength of the Christian element can continue to duly balance the scientific element—if it can prevent the sensual vices from enervating as well as the forceful vices from destroying—there appears no end to the advancement, no limit to the magnitude of the ultimate attainment. Never, therefore, was an intense and effective Christianity more important than at this crisis.

It is here that the great value of Mr. Brace's volume appears. It shows by a well-directed historic analysis what share the Christian religious element has had in evolving our present civilization; and, assuming that it is the purpose and plan of the divine Founder to work out his results by ages of progress, he shows that the fullness of Christian power is just beginning, and

promises a career of progress in the future which the mind is now unable to measure. It is, therefore, a book of evidencial value, as well as a Christian directory for the world's future. It deserves especially study by the teachers and defenders of Christian truth, and a permanent place in every scholarly library.

The work is divided chronologically into three Periods: the Roman, the Mediæval, and the Modern Period. In the Roman Period our author, giving great honor to the system of Roman law, as a grand product of human intellect and conscience under the influence of the Stoic philosophy, portrays, nevertheless, with unflinching pen the degrading and destructive vices of imperial paganism. Parental despotism, the degradation of woman, sexual depravities, slavery, exposure of children, bloody sports, licentious shows, gladiatorial fights—all these gave a brutalism and a savagism to the garish civilization of the age. And these vices existed, not as some of them now do, lurking under cover and outlawed under the pressure of a purer public opinion, but supported by public opinion, and sometimes exhibited in open display under the imperial patronage. With the exception of the occasional reprobation of the Stoic philosophers, the entire society was permeated with these atrocities. Mr. Brace traces the gradual and growing influence of Christianity on the public mind in attacking these vices, and in bringing the age to purity, humanity, and peace. Christianity aimed to create the virtues that were necessary to public safety, to orderly society, to mental steadiness, and so to both moral and intellectual advancement. The force of the argument consists very much in its volume of details and the fullness of its historical pictures. No general phrases, however energetic, can convey the full and true impression.

Coming to the Mediæval Period, the eye is obliged at once to survey a scene of pagan barbarism to be slowly permeated with Christian ideas. It is in very deed a crucial experiment. Hordes of barbarians had poured in from Asia to Central Europe, and rushed down upon the civilization and Christianity of ancient Italy. Christianity's problem now is to regenerate those hordes and create our modern Europe. It is a vigorous and sublime, but not a very pure or perfect, Christianity. It sometimes takes the barbarian vices and gives them a Christian impregnation, and so produces a hybrid Christian institution. So we have a series of organic evils established, some of them appalling in their character, which shed dishonor on the mediæval age. Such evils were the tutelage of woman, the feud, the private war, the wager of

battle, and the ordeal. But between these mediæval vices and those of the Roman period there seems to us to be an important difference, which neither Mr. Brace nor, we think, any other author notices. The Roman vices, namely, despotic parentage, sexual baseness, gladiatorships, etc., were pure *crimes*, springing from the cruelty and sensuality of our depraved nature ; the mediæval vices, wager of battle, ordeal, and even torture and persecution, were largely moral *mistakes*, the action of an unenlightened *conscience* and an erring aim at justice. The battle wager assumed that God was specially present in the result; the ordeal was also an appeal to a special providence. The institution of torture, strangely enough, aimed at truth and justice. Even persecution was intentionally right. The persecutor wished to rescue the heretic or his follower from hell. Perhaps no more stupendously cruel man, objectively, ever existed than Philip II. of Spain. Yet it seems certain that his bloody persecutions were thoroughly conscientious. Their purpose was to preserve religion and save the souls of men at any cost. Philip believed himself not only supremely pious but supremely humane. Mr. Lecky charges the existence of persecution to the doctrine of hell. And no doubt there is some truth in his statement. To save from hell was often *largely* the inquisitors' purpose. But two things there are that Mr. Lecky should have also noted. *First*, the doctrine of hell—the most impressive image of divine justice—was the great deterrent of a barbarous age from wickedness. It was a powerfully reformatory thought. And, *second*, the Church, in adopting persecution, wickedly abandoned its original ground, that physical force had no right to interfere in moral probation. All we can say, then, in palliation of this enormity is, that it had a high moral pretext, and often real purpose, as the Roman cruelties and sensualities had not. But that is saying a great deal for the new spirit that Christianity had brought into the world. It was the ascent of a whole age from the brutal and devilish to a spiritual plane. But our readers must carefully mark our use of the word *largely* in the above statements. Man's motives, like his nature, are mixed. In the wager of battle, for instance, the purely conscientious class saw an appeal to God for the right, while the practical class saw a proper survival of the fittest, and the muscular class saw a solution of the exciting question which could whip. And how strangely even now this last motive can enter into the heart of a most accomplished Christian gentleman we can illustrate by a very modern instance. At the opening of our

late civil war we were amazed to hear our beloved friend, Dr. Dashiell, say that he did not want a war, but he would like to see a dozen Northerners and a dozen Southerners selected to fight it out, and see which could beat! We fully agree with Mr. Brace that there is a great work yet for Christianity to do in the world.

Although showing abundantly how beneficent was the Church in reforming the European tribes, our author makes a careful distinction between the religion and the Church. To this the agnostic critic in the Evening Post objects, inasmuch as the Church is "the only exponent of Christianity." But the distinction is right and just. No pure principles are purely and perfectly concreted in any human "exponent." We once heard Dr. Olin wisely say that "it would be a poor preacher whose preaching was not above his practice." Even Gibbon could say that in appreciation of Christianity we must remember not only by whom it was given, but to whom it was given. The principles of rational liberty are none the less rational from the fact that they have never had a perfect "exponent" in any human republic. Agnosticism endeavored to concrete them in the French Revolution, and failed so completely in the work as to compel its illustrious victim, Madame Roland, to exclaim on the scaffold, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Happy would it be for the world if rational liberty could be perfectly embodied in a State and perfect Christianity embodied in a Church. We agree with Mr. Brace in looking to the very far future for such a combination. Yet even for the politico-ecclesiastical Church of the Middle Ages, with the pope at its head, Mr. Brace justly claims that it was prime leader in the advance of civilization. In spite of the fact that the popedom stirred up many a war, it flung a controlling, peace-making influence over the internal feuds of society. It effected a public tranquillity which was the basal condition of all improvement. Nay, the very political ambition of the papacy to extend its power to the utmost limits, however antichristic in its spirit and methods, tended to effect the unity of the European tribes, and thereby to construct our modern Christendom. And here, if we mistake not, Mr. Brace omits to give due honor to the schoolmen, the great Christian thinkers, who created a new world of thought unknown to antiquity, and taught Europe the art of subtile reason. And it was a truly congenial work which the spiritual power performed in establishing scholastic monasteries, schools, universities, and palestric exhibitions

of intellectual strength. The very art of printing was a Christian art, devoting its first work to the printing of Bibles and books of devotion. Modern civilization is so truly the work of these times that we may well speak with less disrespect of the Mediæval Ages.

Coming to the Modern Period, our author is hopeful, and, some will say, optimistic. And in these days, when an atheistic pessimism increasingly lowers upon our horizon, chilling the hopes and degrading the aims of public thought, we may well rejoice at being presented with the brighter and more inspiring Christian view. Our secular press, including such leading papers as the Tribune and the Sun, are pouring doubt into the public mind, prognosticating the decline and disappearance of our evangelical Christianity. Writers like Buckle deny the influence of moral causes in improving the moral condition of mankind. And the brief article in our present Quarterly on "Perilous Driftings" suggests that a chapter of warnings, pointing out the dangerous elements of our own system, would have well found a place in this survey. Nevertheless, Mr. Brace's "History" and Dr. Dorchester's "Problem of Religious Progress" are twin works, deserving the study of every Christian thinker, and especially every religious teacher.

Hugh Montgomery; or, Experiences of an Irish Minister and Temperance Reformer With Sermons and Addresses. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

Mr. Montgomery is a minister in the New England Southern Conference, well known from the Canada line to Long Island Sound, but best in New Hampshire and Connecticut, and is now in his prime. His life has been an earnest and varied one, in some respects reminding us of the marvelous stories of our old Methodist pioneers, who, by God's good help, would not know defeat and always expected victory. For years his friends who have been familiar with the stirring incidents of his ministry have importuned him to publish them, and he has at length caused them to be embodied in the biographical sketch which makes three hundred pages of this volume. Much of it is his own self-told story, in language frank and simple. And his story ought to be a rousing stimulus to the multitudes of young men in the Church who must make themselves what they are to become.

Turning over the pages of the book, we find that "Hugh," as New Hampshire people name him, is an Irishman by birth, a Canadian by emigration, and an American by choice. Converted at sixteen, he connected himself with the Wesleyans of Canada. At twenty-one, with his earthly goods in a little bundle in his hand, he came into New Hampshire seeking work as a farm-hand, that he might earn money to procure an education preparatory to the ministry, if it should please God to open the way. Whether on a farm or at school, he was eager for the salvation of souls; and he was instrumental in the conversion of hundreds before he became a minister. Breaking down by the privation of poverty and excessive labor, and, as was believed, doomed to an early death, he abandoned school, proposing to do what good he could in his brief earthly stay. But he lived to become a most stalwart workman in the ministry of the Church. His fields of labor have been where hard work was to be done, and he has done it. Revivals have always followed him, in some of which hundreds were saved. He is a man of the people and knows men. His convictions are deep, and his courage in uttering them never falters. A genuine Irishman, he rather delights in a "scrimmage," and is never happier than when, with singular tact, he has his adversary in a corner. Numerous anecdotes in the volume illustrate this trait.

Mr. Montgomery's naturally deep sympathies, together with a vivid remembrance of his own early struggles, have led him into abundant contact with the poor and suffering, and it was thus that in his young manhood he was brought into his first contest with intemperance. Under his ministry numbers of reformed drunkards have been brought into the Church. While all Methodist ministers are supposed to be active advocates of temperance, few are called to the line of action into which Mr. Montgomery has been led, or possess the requisite qualifications for it. His activity and success in the punishment of illegal dealers in strong drink are described in the volume, and show him to be possessed of endowments which might excite the envy of a professional detective. In the terrible hand-to-hand struggle with the rum traffic, such men as he are needed. In the portion of the narrative given to temperance work, the chapters entitled "Testimonies of Reformed Men" and "Prohibition Enforced," the latter showing that prohibition does actually prohibit, are of particular interest. Some of the incidents recited are exceedingly mirth-provoking, while others start the tear. The bold search for the "meanest and most

abandoned drunkard" in the city, upon whom to test the power of the Gospel, ought to be a rebuke to our want of faith and courage as respects this large class among us.

A series of brief, popular "Discourses on Romanism," called forth by circumstances in Norwich, Conn., where their author resides, and listened to by many Roman Catholics, is in the "Appendix." These are followed by a few "Sermons" and "Addresses," short, direct, practical, on religious and moral topics, among them temperance having a place. They cannot fail to do good. The narrative is the most attractive portion of the volume, but the whole book is for the masses and ought to have a wide circulation.

A Short History of the Kingdom of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Union with Great Britain. With Five Maps and Appendices. By CHARLES GEORGE WALPOLE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Author of "A Rubric of the Common Law." 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this work frankly disclaims all credit for original research in its composition; but, judging from his list of more than one hundred authorities cited as the sources from which his materials were derived, his knowledge of its subject was sufficiently broad to furnish him with all the facts needed to such a compendium of the events of Irish history as this volume claims to be. He aimed at nothing higher than "an outline of the leading features of the history of Ireland down to its union with Great Britain." Hence, he has produced a volume, not for scholars learned in history, but for intelligent readers who are content with facts condensed into as brief spaces as may be consistent with clear statements of important events. Viewed simply as a popular hand-book, not of the history of the Irish people, but of their government, it may be pronounced a very readable work. Its writer is evidently master of the art of condensation. He often packs important connecting thoughts into brief, luminous sentences. He is sparing of rhetoric, yet atones for its absence by force of expression and uncommon brevity of statement. Hence, though every page is crowded with incidents, he never wearies the reader with dullness, is never monotonous, but every-where vigorous and lively.

As to the fairness of the light in which events are placed, opinions will differ. There is, to be sure, a vein of apparent candor running through its composition; nevertheless its facts are not always given without betraying the secret bias of the

writer. His sympathies are evidently more with the Irish people than with the English government. Perhaps he is partly right in this, seeing that Ireland in the past has been sadly misgoverned. But, to cite one case only, he is not right in such overstatements of the severity of Cromwell as we find in his account of the settlement of Irish affairs by the great Protector after his memorable, and no doubt cruel, campaign in that distracted country. Any one who will compare our author's account with the "Declaration" of Cromwell in reply to the "Manifesto" of the Irish prelates, which may be found in Carlyle's "Cromwell," will not fail to see that, while he softens and palliates the massacres and rebellion which led to the Protector's campaign, he on the other hand greatly exaggerates the severity of the terms imposed on the Irish by the victor. Other portions of his work are open to similar exceptions. It is not, of course, to be expected that in such a brief historic sketch a writer can reason much upon the facts it contains; but, in the necessary absence of such reasoning, it is scarcely fair to so place events as to give a wrong historical bias to the reader's mind. While, therefore, we commend the literary execution of this volume, and the general correctness of its information, we advise the reader not to wholly abandon his judgment to its guidance, but to compare it with such other authorities on Irish history as may be within his reach.

James Nasmyth, Engineer. An Autobiography. Edited by SAMUEL SMILES, LL.D., author of "Lives of the Engineers," "Self-Help," "Character," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 461.

This is a live book. It contains the record of a man of real genius inherited from his ancestors, but developed into actual power by dint of persistent activity, steady application, careful study, keen observation, and close adhesion to the maxims of common sense. Despite a few unimportant incidents in its opening chapters, there is a magnetism in its pages which keeps curiosity awake, begets a constantly deepening interest in the career of its subject, and excites warm admiration of his mental and moral qualities. In good strong Saxon it describes his limited early education, the first humble, yet really remarkable, developments of his inventive genius and mechanical skill, and so wins the sympathy of its reader that he follows him from Edinburgh to London, where he seeks admission to Maudsley's great engineering establishment, with a genuine desire for his success

and a feeling of participation in his triumph when Mr. Maudsley recognized his abilities, and installed him, not as a mere workman, but as his personal assistant in his private workshop. Equally interesting is the story of Nasmyth's entrance into business with an extremely small capital and a few machines, made chiefly by himself; of his speedy success, of the rapid growth of his establishment, of his numerous and valuable mechanical inventions, of his friendly relations with men of distinction in the scientific world, and of his acquisition of a fortune sufficient to justify his retirement from active business at the early age of forty-eight.

While there is sufficient in this book to win the charmed attention of the general reader, it has an especial value for manufacturers, draughtsmen, engineers, and mechanics, particularly to working mechanics. To the latter class it is remarkably adapted. Its common-sense apothegms, its philosophy of success in life, its illustration of the relation of thrift, industry, and earnestness to the respectability, the elevation, the happiness of the working man, and its observations on the false principles which lie at the base of most trades-unions, strikes, etc., are invaluable. Manufacturers, not of metallic goods alone, but of all kinds, could scarcely do a wiser thing in the line of enlightenment or their operatives, than to place a sufficient number of copies of this excellent volume within reach of all their *employés;* albeit, as Bancroft observes, "it is difficult for pride to put its ear to the ground, and listen to the teachings of a lowly humanity." And that pride is as rife among the lowly as it is among the more prosperous classes. Nevertheless the voice of a man once lowly as themselves may win the attention and give direction to the lives of some who are now deluded by unsound opinions with respect to labor and its relation to capital and to the real prosperity of the laborer.

Spanish Vistas. By GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP. Illustrated by Charles S. Reinhart. 8vo, red and gilt, pp. 210. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

A book of beauty. Almost every page is illustrated with pictorial sketches presenting some unique aspect of the present Spain. The pen descriptions and narratives connect them with the present Spanish life. While her sister peninsula, Italy, has been plentifully illustrated by modern description and history, Spain is still very much a land of mystery. Her remains and relics of a romantic and gorgeous past overshadowed with present decay and ruin. Her reviviscence is yet to come, and that

too, strangely enough, by flinging off the influences that made her mediæval glory.

Mr. Lathrop esteemed his stay in Spain too short to allow him the right to any attempt to unfold to our view the mysteries of Spanish politics. He was enabled only to catch the lights and shadows of the surface of things. But to us the most interesting passage in the book is the few lines in the preface that touch this very subject. On the Mediterranean steamer he encountered a middle-class Spaniard, who, observing the foreign accent of his attempts at Spanish, inquired with cold caution if he were an Englishman. "No," replied the writer, "I am an American of the North; of the United States." "His manner," says our author, "changed at once; he thawed; more than that, his face lighted with hope, as if he had found a powerful friend, and he gazed at me with a certain delighted awe, attributing to my person a glory for which I was in no way responsible. 'You are a republican, then,' he exclaimed. 'Yes.' He gave me another long, silent look, and then confessed that he, too, was a firm believer in republicanism." But as to the present Spain it is strikingly added, "Philip II. still rules." Yes, both Charles V. and Philip II. still rule over Spain, and thus it is that her ancient glory is her modern ruin. Emancipation from her past can alone create her happy future. And how much more glorious is this pre-eminence of being able to say, "I am an American of the great United Republic of the North," to that ancient memorable boast, "I am a Roman citizen."

Pamphlets.

"*Our Man of Macedonia:*" His Needs and Our Duties. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, D.D., President of Paine Institute, Augusta, Ga. Printed at the Southern Methodist Publishing House.

This eloquent sermon was delivered by Dr. Callaway before the students of Emory College and the citizens of Oxford, Ga., as his farewell to the scenes of his professorial labors on leaving for his presidential duties at the Paine Institute. The establishment of this Institute for the education of colored teachers and preachers, the high Christian tone of the discourse itself, and its publication at the Nashville House, are significant of a new chapter in the history of the Church South. The old purpose of retaining

the Negro race in ignorance and pariahism is fairly abandoned. He is accepted as no longer a serf, but a citizen. Culture, mental development, and fair play for showing what he is and can become are not only accorded to him, but aid and means are to be bestowed upon him for the process. On this high platform Dr. Callaway places himself; his utterances are free, frank, hearty, and profoundly sincere; the work can be safely trusted in his able hands; and every friend of both races will applaud him in the undertaking, and rejoice in his success.

Firmly maintaining the unity of the human race, he asks indignantly: "Are we to let the seven million negroes in our midst perish for lack of knowledge, and the civilization of Africa, for which Livingstone died and Stanley imperiled himself, be indefinitely postponed? Are we Christian men and women permitting the sophistry of a former servile relation to impose on our judgment and retard our offices of kindness to the race that cries to us from the depths of a pitiable poverty?"—Pp. 8, 9. He grounds his plea on a common Christian humanity, on the kindly sentiment between the two races, on the great services of Negro labor in the past to both South and North, on his faithfulness to the South in the late war, and on his good behavior and manifested fair capacity for culture since the war. On his services of labor in the past we have the following frank statement:

> Not to speak of lighter services at our homes, and in personal attendance, [illegible] in order to recall the fact that the Negro's lusty strokes felled the forests from the Chesapeake to the Gulf of Mexico; that his spade drained our swamps and [illegible] lands; that he followed the plow over every acre of our fields; that his [illegible] out all the ores smelted in our furnaces; that his scoop and dump-cart grad[illegible] Southern railways; and that though he does not monopolize the labor in our [illegible] tories, yet his labor produced the cotton our mills have spun and the [illegible] America have woven. His toil alone clothes at least the poor of two conti[illegible] If exemption from the severer forms of bodily toil be a relief, if leisure for [illegible] or pleasure produced without sacrifice be a boon, if the prosperous industr[illegible] the high civilization of our section be a blessing, for this relief and [illegible] blessing we are largely indebted to the Negro.—Page 11.

Dr. Callaway contemptuously repudiates the excuse of some Southerners from aiding the Negroes made on the ground that "others liberated them, by these others they should be cared for." He repudiates it, reasoning from the Negro's innocence of the "red-handed war" that emancipated him. But does not the above catalogue of services received furnish a far more overwhelming reason? The Negro has enriched the South, to say nothing of the North, and has been deprived of his wages, and left poor in poverty itself. Is he not entitled to repayment from the South of his education-money, with an overwhelming amount of interest

for payment delayed? After all the South will or even can do, she is left in bankruptcy and repudiation of dues to those terrible colored creditors.

Perhaps in the following paragraph Dr. Callaway shows "the wisdom of the serpent:"

He has lost his reckoning who inquires fearfully if it be a proper thing, or a possible thing, to educate the Negro. The best men always acknowledged its rightfulness. The proudest intellect this Southland has produced, in a lecture on slavery, delivered at Tremont Temple, Boston, January, 1856—he then being United States Senator from Georgia—in answering objections to slavery, said: "It is objected that our slaves are debarred the benefits of education. This objection is well taken, and not without force. And for this evil the slaves are greatly indebted to the abolitionists. Formerly in none of the slave States was it forbidden to teach slaves to read and write; but the character of the literature sought to be furnished them by the abolitionists caused these States to take counsel rather of their passions than of their reason, and to lay the ax at the root of the evil. Better counsels will in time prevail, and this will be remedied. It is true that the slave, from his protected position, has less need of education than the free laborer who has to struggle for himself in the welfare of society; yet it is useful to him, to his master, and to society." So Robert Toombs in 1856.—Pp. 9, 10.

To the statement of Senator Toombs, that "the Abolitionists" were responsible for the anti-education laws, that sharp-tongued set had, of course, their ever-ready keen reply. They paralleled Senator Toombs with Pharaoh, who inflicted deeper oppression on the crushed race because Moses sought its emancipation. And they called to mind how far more horrible was the modern Pharaoh's cruelty in that he brutalized his victim with ignorance in order to make him more securely his victim. And on the providential deliverance of ancient Israel from his task-master, the said sharp-tongued abolitionist grounded a prediction—with what terrible truth fulfilled!—that God would with mighty power deliver the Negro. Dr. Callaway does not quote the Senator in approbation of his excuse for passing anti-education laws, but to show that even he, the *Bourbonissimus Bourbonorum*, avowed that "better counsels" required negro education.

Dr. Callaway pays the following brief but explicit tribute to the earlier labors in the field:

The Freedman's Bureau, the many Missionary Societies of the North, a Slater, and other good persons and corporations, have helped nobly; but, notwithstanding their munificence, so gross is the darkness, and so wide-spread, that it seems that only a few light-houses have been erected where there should be a light burning in every district and in every community.—Page 14.

This is, indeed, altogether better than even good Dr. Duncan's ridicule—most untrue—of the "ignorance," etc., of the "Northern school-marms," and Dr. Summers' denunciation of our whole mission work as an oppressive invasion of the South. And yet a

fuller acknowledgment of the heroic labors of Dr. Rust and his compeers, amid cold-shoulders and sneers and persecutions, would have been graceful, but perhaps not yet quite "wise and prudent." Dr. Callaway claims, unwarily, "We of the South, as best knowing his capacity," . . . should be intrusted with the responsible duty. . . . "We are his guardians." This was the language with which the attempt was early made to exclude Northern teachers and prevent all education of the Negro. "The South alone," forsooth, "knew the Negro." But the South did not know the Negro until the Northern teachers in the South revealed the true Negro to her so clearly that she could neither ignore nor deny. It is the absoluteness of that revelation, we are happy to say, that calls our noble Professor to his glorious mission. He anticipates, most justly, in his work an advance of "true fraternity." He will be welcomed by his predecessors in the noble work, and our two Methodisms will have one more ground of goodly fellowship.

Miscellaneous.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Fourth Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Whatever other faults may be charged upon Mr. Froude as a writer, he is never guilty of what Johnson used to call "the most fatal of all faults." He never wrote a dull line. And he is something more than the brilliant rhetorician. He has that historical imagination which enables him, out of dry and meagre materials, to reanimate the past and make its men and women live before us. But he has *les défautes de ses qualités*, too. He has sometimes mistaken the picturesque for the true. He is always something of an advocate, and has now and then pressed his brilliant imagination into the service of his theories. He has never made any pretensions to the impossibility of viewing the men and events of the past as a strictly impartial observer; but he has rather too often shown something of the skillful pleader's liking for a hard case.

All these qualities are discernible in the concluding volume of the "Short Studies." The opening papers on Thomas Becket were roughly criticised by Mr. Freeman, when they first appeared in the "Nineteenth Century," some six years ago. Mr. Freeman has always shown a rather crabbed resolution not to like

any thing that Mr. Froude can write; in this case, however, though pointing out numerous instances of rather careless writing and hasty inference, he failed, we think, to discredit the general truth of Mr. Froude's picture of Becket's life and times. The papers are here reprinted, if we mistake not, without correction or change, as they appeared in the "Nineteenth Century." Mr. Froude's Protestantism is of a very thorough-going sort, and it is always roused by any claim of supernatural powers for the priesthood, whether in the days of Becket, or of Laud, or of Pusey. It is natural, therefore, that of the various hypotheses by which Becket's conduct may be explained, he should choose the one that bears hardest on the prelate. Yet, although written with something of partisan zeal, his story of this first great struggle between crown and clergy seems to us substantially just; it is certainly very graphic.

The paper on Origen and Celsus, and that on Alexander of Abonatichus are interesting sketches, but contain nothing new. The story of "Cheneys and the House of Russell," is a charming piece of historical gossip, brightened with bits of graceful description. But by far the most valuable portions of the book are the chapters on the Oxford Tractarian Movement. We venture the opinion that nowhere else, in like compass, can be found so vivid a sketch of the rise of the movement, its leaders, and its effect upon that large class of Englishmen of whom Mr. Froude is a representative. These brief papers are worth vastly more than Mr. Mozley's dull volumes, which promised us so much and gave us so little.

Of Cardinal Newman, Mr. Froude speaks with the loving reverence of early discipleship. The secret of Newman's wonderful influence over those who knew him in the Oxford days has rarely been better indicated. But of the results of the movement in which Newman was the leader, Mr. Froude can speak only in the most gloomy terms. Just before that movement began, at the beginning of the second quarter of this century, the Church of England, Mr. Froude thinks, was in excellent case. It had intelligence; it had energy; it retained much of the spiritual fervor which was generated by the Wesleyan movement; it was liberal to Dissenters; it was active in philanthropic and humanitarian endeavor; it was teaching men to be honest and just, to obey God, and not ask questions.

"It was orthodox, without being theological. Doctrinal problems were little thought of. Religion, as taught in the Church

of England, meant moral obedience to the will of God. The speculative part of it was accepted, because it was assumed to be true. The creeds were reverentially repeated; but the essential thing was practice. . . . About doctrine, Evangelical or Catholic, I do not think that in my early boyhood I ever heard a single word, in church or out of it. The institution had drifted into the condition of what I should call moral health. People went to church because they liked it, because they knew they ought to go, and because it was the custom. They had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds. Christianity had wrought itself into the constitution of their nature." The Church, in Mr. Froude's opinion, was then in "the healthiest condition it had ever known." But then came the epoch of political reform, of scientific criticism, and of the "counter-reformation," as Mr. Froude calls it, in the Church. And what is the result?

"The nation has ceased to care what the clergy say or do. The Church of England, as part of the Constitution of the country, has ceased to exist. As the Church has become "Catholic," the honored name of Protestant has passed to the Non-conformist. The laity stand aloof indifferent and contemptuous. The thinking part of it has now a seriousness of its own and a philosophy of its own which has also grown and is growing. . . . The storm will die away, agitation is wearisome, and we may subside into a dull acquiescence even with the travesty of ecclesiasticism which is now in possession of the field. But the active mind of the country will less and less concern itself with a system which it despises. A ritualist English Church will be as powerless over the lives of the people as the Roman augurs over the Rome of Cicero and Cæsar; and centuries will pass before religion and common sense will again work together with the practical harmony which existed between them in the days of Whately and Arnold, and Hare and Sedgwick."

If this *were* the destined future of the English Church, even for the next fifty years, the outlook would indeed be sad. But Mr. Froude is neither accurate seer nor inspired prophet. The liberalist is not always liberal; and a late quotation in our Quarterly from Dr. Rigg furnishes a much fairer estimate of the Ritualistic "revival" as a movement inspiring the Church to much that is excellent, and quite preferable to the sleepy half-belief of Whately and the others. The remaining years of this century will suffice to show that it is not the Church of Pusey and Keble,

but the Church of disestablishment and evangelical revival, which will rule the future. Such a Church, concerned not so much with forms and rites as with the essentials of Christian faith and life, will live because it is true to the spirit of its Master's teaching, because it is broad enough to embrace all truth, and is in sympathy with all that is genuinely progressive.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation; With a Commentary and Critical Notes. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.A.S., etc. A New Edition. Condensed, and Supplemented from the Best Modern Authorities. By DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. I. The Gospels and Acts. Imp. 8vo, pp. 541. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament Embracing the Marginal Readings of the English Revisers, as well as those of the American Committee. By JOHN ALEXANDER THOMS. 8vo, pp. 532. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Wisdom of Holy Scripture. With Reference to Skeptical Objections. By J. H. M'ILVAINE. Small 8vo, pp. 488. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Gospel of the Secular Life. Sermons Preached at Oxford. With a Prefatory Essay. By the Hon. W. H. FREMANTLE, Late Fellow of All Souls, Rector of Saint Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Canon of Canterbury. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

Poems. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Life of Christ. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Counselor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by JOHN WALTER HOPE, M.A. Vol I, 8vo, pp. 394. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated from the Third Revised Edition by Rev. JAMES E. DUGUID, New Machar. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 450. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

Hand-Books for Bible Classes. The Epistle to the Romans. With Introduction and Notes by DAVID BROWN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity, Free Church, Coll., Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 152. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

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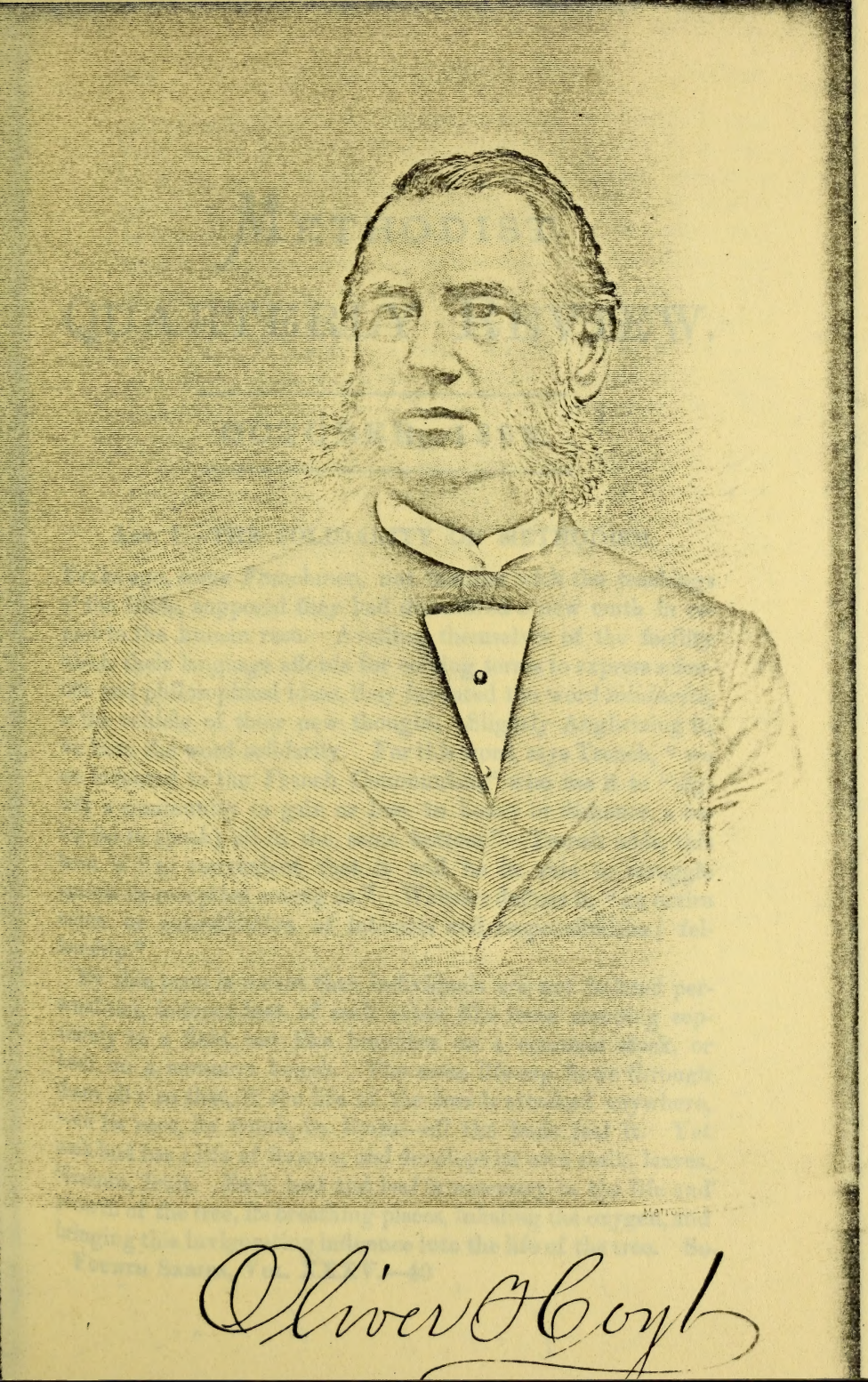

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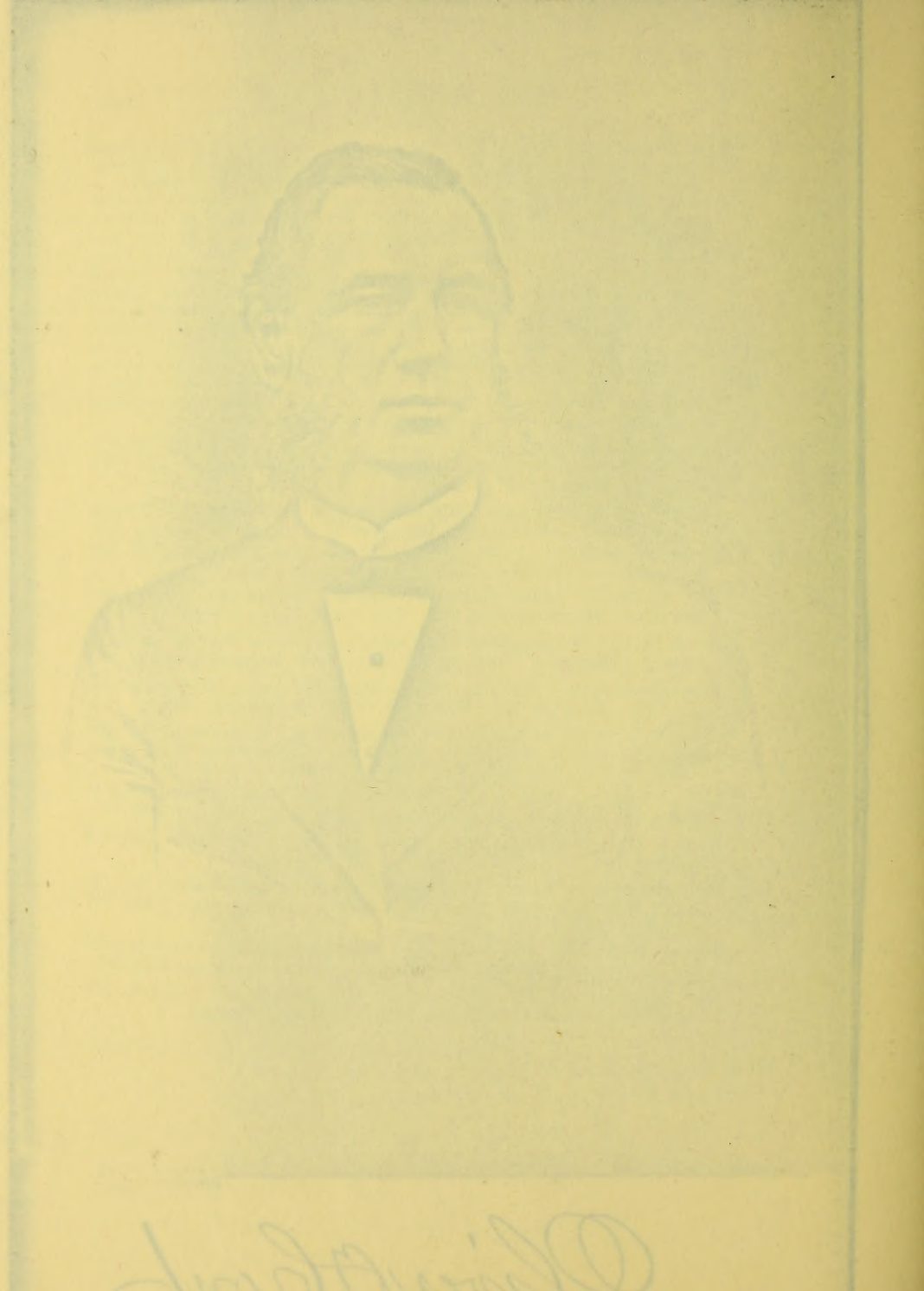

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1883.

ART. I.—THE SOLIDARITY OF METHODISM.

YEARS ago, some Frenchmen, not familiar with the teachings of the Bible, supposed they had discovered a new truth in regard to the human race. Availing themselves of the facility which their language affords for coining terms to express scientific and philosophical ideas, they invented the word *solidarité*, as the vehicle of their new thought. Slightly Anglicizing it, we have the word solidarity. For this word, says Trench, "we are indebted to the French Communists," who use it to "signify a community in gain or loss, in honor or dishonor, a being (so to speak) all in the same bottom." Trench adds, this term is "so convenient that it will be in vain to struggle against its reception among us." Webster defines it, "an entire union or consolidation of interests and responsibilities; fellowship."

By this term is meant that individuals are not isolated personalities, independent of each other, like trees standing separately in a field, but like branches on a common stock, or buds on a common bough. The same life-sap flows through them all; so that, if the life of the tree is attacked anywhere,—in its root, its trunk, its limbs—all the buds feel it. Yet each bud has a life of its own, and develops its own stalk, leaves, blossom, fruit. Each bud and leaf is necessary to the life and growth of the tree, its breathing-places, inhaling the oxygen, and bringing this invigorating influence into the life of the tree. So

mutual and all-pervasive are these relations between the boughs, buds, leaves and trunk, that if either fails to perform its functions, the tree will suffer. So it is with individual men in the great tree of mankind. None liveth to himself alone, or dieth to himself alone. If one suffers, all suffer. If the life of mankind becomes diseased, individual men are also affected, and whatever improves the life of the race improves the individual members of the race. Such is the common life-connection of humanity. It is a solid, a unit. As individuals, we are parts of a whole, with which we are bound in relations of mutual dependence and service. We have a common race life. This is what the term solidarity means.

This term contains no new principle; but one as old as Christianity, which long ago declared that God "made of one blood all nations of men." The golden rule is predicated upon this great underlying race truth. So also the second great Commandment. The clearest Christian expression of this truth is in the language of St. Paul—"We are members one of another." "The body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body." This truth is very prominent in Paul's epistles.

This principle is one of the broadest and most fundamental of all known truths.

I. It sustains a vital relation to the human race.

1. *The common race life is dependent upon it.*

It stands opposed to artificial divisions of the human family into *castes*, to aristocratic exclusiveness, to slavery, war, and every thing that estranges nations and communities. It condemns all wrongs against our fellows, for an evil done to one is a wound inflicted upon the race. The virus enters into its common life. This principle is the basis of mutual assistance. It was a profound remark of Sir Walter Scott, that if the element of sympathy should die out of the human heart, the race could not protract its existence through another generation. Philanthropy, moral and social reforms, educational movements for the masses, and all charities, have their origin in this principle. It lies at the foundation of all moral relations and duties in the social sphere. Impure acts, words, and examples taint the moral life of the race, sending their pernicious influence through large circles and for many generations.

This principle is fundamental in civil government. The Preamble of the Massachusetts Constitution declares:

> The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenant with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good.

It is a prime truth laid down in the commentaries on civil law, that government exists for the good of society. Natural rights are surrendered when any government is formed, in order to promote the greater good of the whole. This principle makes us all cosmopolitans, linking us in a common race life.

2. If the principle under consideration is so important, as regards the common life of the race, *it ought also to be recognized in the civil polities of the nations.*

All true progress in government is an approximation toward the perfect recognition of the principle that we are "members one of another." In the earlier and untutored periods of national life, it was only slightly recognized. It is the ideal of the periods of better development and fuller manhood.

In the civil polities of the nations there have been two extremes—*Absolutism* and *Democracy*—both of which ignore this great truth. Some governments are of a mixed character, having features in common with one of these extremes, and perhaps some resemblance to both. This is especially true of provisional governments.

In *absolute* government power centers in the head—king or emperor—not conferred according to constitutional provisions, but assumed, or inherited. No power rises from the people to the head, but starting from the head, it descends to the people. Such has been the government of all Mohammedan and pagan lands, and, until recent centuries, of almost all Europe also. It was the only thing practicable in the earlier periods of the race. The Mosaic economy provided some limitations of this absolutism, in advance of any thing that appeared in the pre-Christian ages. In limited monarchies, the sovereign power is curtailed by constitutional restrictions; and every constitutional limitation is an expression, more or less, of the principle that we are "members one of another." The British Magna Charta, a notable guaranty of popular rights against absolutism, is a conspicuous illustration; and the principles

embodied six centuries and a half ago in that memorable document, the basis of English liberties, have been widely expanded and applied in the successive centuries. The movement has been a progressive abridgement of absolute prerogative among people of almost every clime and land.

The other extreme is *pure democracy.* To some extent this form of government recognizes the principle that we are "members one of another," but only in an inchoate and unorganized way, for it is a government wholly by the people. All business being transacted in an assembly of the whole people, the power rests wholly in their hands, and is distributed among individuals. Having no cohesion and no center of power, democracies soon fall in pieces. How different from the figure employed in the New Testament, in setting forth the principle we are discussing—the human body, with its various members, the vital organs, etc. These portions are not disconnected and separate, like the individual people in a pure democracy, but organized and controlled by a central head. The blood is diffused from the heart through all the extremities, and then returns to the heart. Each member has its appropriate functions, but there are checks and counter-checks all through the body. No such things can be claimed for a pure democracy; it is only a collection of individualities, discordant and disintegrating. Such is the unquestioned verdict of history.

But what form of civil government most fully recognizes the principle under consideration, so strikingly illustrated by the figure of the human body? *Ans.* A republican government like that of the United States.

In the republican government of the United States the power resides principally in the people. The popular phrase of President Lincoln, so often quoted with encomium, "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people," is not quite correct. The Republic of the United States is a government of the people, for the people, *by representatives* of the people.

Originating with the people, the power rises through distinct lines of ascent, to the Congress and the President, and then, through enactments and appointees to office, returns again to the people. To specify: we have first Governors, State Legislatures, Representatives in Congress, and a President and

Vice-President elected by the people. Then, we have United States Senators elected by the Legislatures. Thus the power, starting with the people, concentrates in Congress and the President, the federal head of the government of the United States. From this point the power returns again to the people, the members of the Cabinet, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the District Courts, the United States Marshals, the Collectors of Ports, the officers of the Revenue, the Postmasters, and the Army and Navy officers—all appointed by the President and Congress, or by heads of departments, whom they have appointed. Thus, the power originating with the people, rises and concentrates in a single head or will, and then returns to the people. Along all the way of ascent and descent there are checks and counter-checks, in the form of legal or constitutional limitations. Some links may be wanting, but they are being gradually supplied by national and State legislation year by year. No other government so fully meets the conditions of St. Paul's illustration.

II. This principle is also fundamental to the Church.

1. It is *the life principle* of the Church. It is opposed to caste and selfish exclusiveness in the Church. If true to the spirit of her founder, no invidious distinctions will be recognized. It is also opposed to the spirit of excessive denominationalism and exclusive sectarianism. The narrow assumption sometimes indulged by conceited bigots, that their denomination is *the Church* of Christ, is a gross offense. To exclude from the Lord's table Christian men and women because they have not been baptized according to a specific denominational form, is also an offense to the body of Christ.

This principle is also opposed to schisms. Different denominations do not necessarily imply schisms. The New Testament doctrine of schism is heart-division among Christians, and that may exist in the same denomination, and in a local church or society, without any open rupture.

This principle is the basis of Christian fellowship; it sweetens the communion of saints; it begets kindly attention to those united with us in Christ; it hallows and makes precious our Church relations; and it makes the Church a comfort and a blessing. It is the basis of mutual forbearance, mutual esteem, mutual joys and sorrows. It prompts to kindly interest in

those members of Christ's body who are sick, or bereaved, or unfortunate. It is the basis of mutual burden-bearing in the Church, prompting us to cheerfully share the expenses, the labors, the offices, and responsibilities of the Church. It is also the basis of our joint-heirship with Christ. If we would jointly inherit, we must be joint members in the same body.

2. If this principle be so fundamental to the life of the Church, it should be recognized in *the polities* of Churches. If civil polities should be founded in this fundamental truth, so also should ecclesiastical polities.

In Church government there are two extremes, corresponding to absolutism and democracy in civil government.

Ecclesiastical absolutism is represented by the Church of Rome. In that Church the power is lodged in the Pope, from whom it descends through Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, to the people; but no power rises from the people to any Priest, Bishop, or any other official.

The Churches of the Congregational polity, Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, and largely, also, the Presbyterians, correspond to the democracy in civil government. In respect to polity, there is but little difference among them. They are pure democracies. The Presbyterians vary a little, and but little. The Orthodox Congregational denomination in the United States is not one national Church, but an aggregate of churches. Their State Associations are Associations of Congregational churches. The same thing is true of the Baptists, Unitarians, etc. Each local body is a church, in the full sense, holding no organic connection with any other local church—only brotherly relations. Each local church holds the supreme power of legislation and discipline within itself. No other church or collection of churches, even of the same denomination, can do any thing more than give advice. Councils called for settling and dismissing ministers are only advisory, and their advice may be disregarded without any ecclesiastical penalty. It would, however, make them liable to be considered as wanting in proper respect for the opinions and feelings of sister churches—a violation of the principles of the communion of churches, not a question of ecclesiastical law, but of Christian courtesy.

The pastor has absolutely no power. If he presides at a

church meeting, it is not by right, but by courtesy. Any layman can as well preside, and often does preside, being chosen instead of the pastor. Even in case of discipline, the pastor has no power. He can only act an advisory part, like any other member. As local churches, they are a collection of individuals, with no organic unity, no cementing bond, no conserving link. Churches thus constituted fail to meet the conditions of the figure used by St. Paul—the human body—for there is no union of individual members in one common system.

Another element of weakness in Churches of the Con-gregational polity is, that the church divides its voice with the congregation or parish. Said Rev. Dr. Hawes,* of Hartford:

> These two bodies are in some respects united and one, but in others are distinct, independent corporations. In the call and settlement of a minister, which is the great business they have to transact together, each exerts a separate and uncontrolled agency. And yet the concurrence of each is indispensable to the validity of their respective acts. The church has no power to place a minister over the congregation; nor has the congregation power to place a minister over the church. In effecting the settlement of a pastor, the concurrent voice of the church and society is essential.

Under such a system the power, instead of being concentrated, is scattered. The congregation can withhold its concurrence, as has often been the case, and so compel the church to elect whom it chooses as its pastor. So much for the boasted "free election of the brethren." The power to defeat the church is in the hands of irreligious men not members of the church.

Furthermore, this society, a corporation distinct from the church, holds all the church property, determines the salary of the pastor, etc., and is responsible by law for the raising and paying of the salary. The church, therefore, sustain a subordinate and dependent part in this important business. So far has this matter been carried, that the question has sometimes been discussed,† whether the church should have the precedence of the society, or the society the precedence of the church.

* "Tribute to the Memory of the Pilgrims," page 58.

† Professor Upham, *Ratio Disciplinæ*.

We come now to consider

III. How the principle under consideration enters into the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

1. As to its general organic features.

We have seen that the denominations of the Congregational polity are aggregates of denominational individualities; but the Methodist Episcopal Church is a denominational unit. It is not a local society, but it comprises all the local societies throughout the United States, Europe, Asia, Africa, wherever it has ministers and societies. It takes all her members, wherever she is organized, all over the world, to make one Church. Each local body is a society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These societies are linked together by connectional bonds. Under the presiding elder, from twenty to sixty or more societies are united in a District, through which that official travels four times each year. Several of these presiding elders' districts are united in one Annual Conference, and ninety-four of these Annual Conferences are under one General Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Church is not a confederacy of ninety-four Annual Conferences, not a mere association of, say, twenty thousand societies. It is a single body of which these societies and Conferences are component parts, and all "members one of another."

This bond of connection is carried out by Bishops, who, as general superintendents, travel through the whole Church, administering its affairs, and sustaining the same relation to every member; by Presiding Elders, traveling through their districts; by Pastors, liable to be appointed to any society; by the Book Concerns' Books and Periodicals; by the general Benevolent Societies and their Secretaries, reaching out into the whole body. The Bishops have ever been a strong bond of union to the Church. They are not confined to any diocese. As general superintendents, they travel every-where, and acquaint themselves with the needs of every portion of the Church. Their fields of labor are interchanging every year, first in one section, then in another, so that each one belongs to the whole Church. Each Bishop is strictly amenable to the General Conference for his conduct and his administration; and every minister and every lay member has a right to bring any Bishop to trial before the General Confer-

ence. Such is the connectional unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But let us look a little further. There are many persons who think our Church polity is very undemocratic. Undemocratic it is, in some respects, and none the worse for that, but rather better; for a pure democracy is a very weak government, whether in State or Church. Our nation is not, as we have already noticed, a democracy, but a Republic, in which the democratic principle is largely incorporated, but supplemented by the representative and the federal principle, to which it is indebted for whatever strength and efficiency it possesses. The doctrine of State Rights or State Sovereignty, out of which the nullification heresy and our late civil war sprung, directly antagonizes the federal principle, and logically leads into the weakness and disintegration of an irresponsible democracy. Our best statesmen are fully impressed with this truth, and the necessity of guarding and strengthening the federal element in the civil polity of the Republic. Out of what did the federal element in the government of the United States spring? Out of the necessity of a stronger government than the confederation which preceded it. Under that, public affairs were in a condition bordering upon chaos. The imperiled state of the country was viewed with alarm by the best and wisest patriots who had struggled with the issues of the Revolution. The great speech of Hon. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, in the convention that framed the Constitution, disclosed the weaknesses and defects of a government without a federal bond, and the elements of power which it imparts. A federal bond implies a concentration of power in a responsible center. Men may say that they do not believe in centralization of power. But there is no power without concentration. All nature and common life are full of illustrations of the fact.

Does any one persist in saying that the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is very unlike the government of the United States? If we look closely, we shall see that there is no Church polity which more nearly corresponds to that of the United States government than our own. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Annual Conferences correspond very largely, though not fully, to the State Legislatures, and the General Conference corresponds to Congress. The An-

nual Conference is composed of ministers, and the General Conference, the legislative body of the Church, of ministers and laymen. The analogy between our Annual Conferences and the State Legislatures fails at some points; but a similar defect or discrepancy may be seen in all the subordinate associations, conferences, presbyteries, or other local bodies of all the religious denominations, and they are believed to be peculiar to the necessities of ecclesiastical life, which require less local legislation than the State. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the power starts from the laity. No man can become an exhorter unless first recommended by the laity, either the class of which he is a member, or the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting. No man is licensed to preach unless first recommended by the Leaders and Stewards' Meeting, which is composed wholly of laymen, except the pastor, who presides; and then the candidate must receive the votes of the Quarterly Conference, which is seldom composed of more than one minister, and from ten to thirty laymen. If this man, thus constituted a local preacher, desires to become an itinerant preacher or a member of an Annual Conference, he must come a fourth time before the laity. The Quarterly Conference, composed, as we have seen, of laymen, must recommend him to the Annual Conference. He can reach the door of the Annual Conference in no other way. Thus, among us, the laity decide the question who shall be the ministers. Among the Congregationalists and the Baptists, the Association, composed wholly of ministers, grant licenses to preach; among the Presbyterians, the Presbytery, composed of an equal number of ministers and elders, the latter being laymen.

While with us the pastoral office is reached by four successive steps, each of which is watched over by the laity, and must be sanctioned by their formally expressed will, with Churches of the Congregational polity, the laity is not consulted at all until the question comes up as to whether a given minister, who has been made a minister independently of them, shall be their pastor. Deny these churches the privilege of electing a pastor, and they would be in a condition pitiably helpless, vastly inferior to that of our churches. With us the laity speak four times before the laity with them speak once. And yet we are told that our churches have no voice in electing ministers. Besides, our churches are unformly consulted in the

selection of their pastors. But Congregational churches are never consulted at all until they come to settle a minister.

Next, the ministers who compose the Annual Conferences every four years elect ministerial delegates to the General Conference, just as our Legislatures elect the Senators in Congress. At the same time, an Electoral Conference of laymen, made up of delegates chosen by the Quarterly Conferences, meets and elects lay delegates to the General Conference. The General Conference thus constituted elects the Bishops. Thus we see the power starting with the people rising up through several gradations, with checks and counter-checks, to the General Conference. But it should be remembered that the Bishops are not above the General Conference, but subject to it. The General Conference is the head from which the power returns again to the people. First, the General Conference elects the Bishops, and gives them all their power. They can do only what the General Conference says, and they are amenable to the General Conference. Their conduct and administration are scrutinized, censured, or approved every four years. The General Conference also elects the Editors, and the Secretaries of the Missionary, Sunday-School, Tract, Church Extension, and Freedmen's Aid Societies, who, with the Bishops, come in contact with the people of every section of the Church. The Bishops appoint the Presiding Elders, who visit and superintend the twenty, thirty, and sixty societies, of their districts, and in connection with the Bishops, arrange and fix the appointments of the Preachers. The preachers appoint the Class-leaders, and nominate the Stewards and Trustees.* Thus we see that the power which originates with the people rises through successive gradations, with checks and counter-checks, to the General Conference, from which it returns to the people, just as in the government of the United States the power travels from the people upward to the Congress and President, and returns again to the people. As in the national government there are yet some missing links in the chain, so in the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

* In several States, the laity alone nominate and elect trustees. In New York, all who statedly contribute to the support of the churches, (even though not church members,) are entitled to take part in the election of trustees. And this is in accordance with the provision of our Discipline.

Is it said that the Quarterly Conferences are close corporations, and self-perpetuating, and the nominations of stewards and trustees dependent upon the pastor? In reply, I ask, Do we not find similar close corporations, under due provision of law, too, in all our States? The analogy, therefore, does not fail. But is it said that our economy does not sufficiently admit the laity to a voice in the affairs of the Church? We have before shown that they have several important advantages over other denominations; and they are constantly gaining others. Our Church legislation is, in every quadrennium, supplying something in that direction. Once, a minister, on his sole prerogative, could turn out a member from the Church, but now every member has a right to a trial before his peers before he can be expelled, and can be expelled only on their verdict; and he can object to any juror who sits on his case, as in civil courts. Once, a minister had the full right to appoint a board of trustees and fill vacancies; at a later date, trustees filled the vacancies on the nomination of the pastor; now the whole Quarterly Conference, composed, as we have seen, almost wholly of laymen, votes on the election of trustees, and also of stewards. Such is the tendency of legislation in our Church, to supply the missing links, and recognize the popular voice. Eleven years ago laymen were introduced into the General Conference—the great legislative body of the Church.

It must be admitted that, even with some of the links yet wanting, the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, viewed as a whole, more nearly corresponds to the government of the United States than that of any other Church.

In the language of our Bishops, in their Address to the General Conference in 1876: "The connectional character of our Church we regard as of the highest importance and greatest utility. An army in detachments, under independent authorities, would be feeble and ineffective, in comparison with the same army moved by one supreme authority, having unity of purpose and action. Germany under the Empire is much more potential among the nations of the earth than when under the government of independent sovereignties. So the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the sublime unity of her grand purpose, and under the government and direction of the General Conference, as her supreme authority, is much

mightier in her action and influence than she could possibly be in independent divisions. She can better antagonize great errors, contend with enormous vices, overthrow combinations of wickedness, and press forward the triumphs of divine truth and grace in the earth."

2. As to the Itinerancy. Some seem to think that the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is opposed to the principle under consideration. If we study the itinerancy, we shall see that it is founded directly upon the principle that we are "members one of another." The itinerancy has reference to the assignment of the preachers to their ministerial and pastoral work. It was constituted on the basis of the surrender of personal rights and preferences. Under this system, at the outset, the preacher relinquishes the right of absolutely deciding as to his field of labor, and the societies also surrender the right of absolutely deciding who shall be their pastor. This does not mean that there can be no consultation between the preachers and the people, nor between the preachers or the people and the Bishop or presiding elder. By no means. This has always been not only allowable, but also necessary, in ascertaining the needs of all concerned. But the *fixing* of the appointment is with the Bishop. The Discipline defines the duty of the Bishop in these words: "to fix the appointment of the preachers." He must judge between conflicting claims, and finally determine the allotment. This all good Methodists submit to gracefully.

The reason for this surrender of personal rights is, for the good of the whole, that every society may have a pastor and every pastor a society. If the matter were left to be decided by personal agreement of pastors with societies, a large number of societies would be left without pastors, and pastors without societies, (as in churches of the Congregational polity,) to the detriment of each party, and of the Church as a whole.

But we are asked if, under our present economy, there is not a large number of the societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church without pastors? We answer No; not one. Those noticed in the Minutes as left *to be supplied*, are all of them provided with pastors. Every society whose name is on the list in the Minutes has a pastor. If the society cannot be furnished with a pastor who is a member of the Conference, it is

left under the care of the presiding elder, who provides one. Usually he has some one already provided, he having, in his oversight of the societies, anticipated the case, and arranged with some local or supernumerary preacher to take the charge, so that these societies are as promptly and regularly provided with pastors as others which receive ministers from the Conference. Preachers thus appointed by the presiding elder are as truly pastors as though appointed at the Conference. In case a few days or weeks should ever intervene between pastors, on account of death or otherwise, the pastorate is vested in the presiding elder, who gives special attention to the society until he can furnish a pastor to dwell among them, which is seldom more than a few weeks. Thus all Methodist societies have a perpetual pastorate. If one pastor leaves, another immediately steps into his place. While, therefore, we have not, in the technical sense, "settled pastors," we have, nevertheless, a permanent pastorate. No other denomination but the Methodist has a perpetual pastorate. This is a great advantage to both pastors and people.

Thus it appears that what men of other denominations have said to their own credit and to the discredit of Methodism, in regard to the permanency of their pastoral relation, has been full of misapprehension as to the facts, or unfortunate in phraseology, or both. The itinerant ministry is permanent, unceasing. It never vacates, never intermits. The very act and moment that dissolves a minister's pastoral relation to one society places him in the same relation to another society. The societies are never without pastors, nor the pastors without societies.

One thing to us seems palpable: *If the Methodist Episcopal Church should abandon the itinerancy and adopt the Congregational polity of settling ministers, in less than five years one half of our churches would be without pastors.*

Let us see how it is with the churches of the Congregational polity. Turning first to the Baptist churches, we find that their Year-Book does not give the necessary data to determine the question of the number of settled pastors in the whole country; but the local "Minutes" for the several New England States enable us to ascertain the facts for that section, though the case in regard to some of their churches is not quite clear, some who are only supplies not being distinctly designated.

VACANT BAPTIST CHURCHES IN NEW ENGLAND IN 1880.

	Number of Churches.	Churches Vacant.	Per cent. Vacant.
Maine	262	113	43
New Hampshire	84	22	26
Vermont	114	37	32
Massachusetts	289	61	21
Rhode Island *	..	..	..
Connecticut	119	20	17
Total	868	253	29

Of 868 churches, 253, or 29 per cent., were without pastors. In Maine, the vacant churches were 43 per cent. of the whole, and in Vermont, 32 per cent.

Passing to the "orthodox Congregationalists," let us first notice what one of their own writers says:

Take the stronghold of Congregationalism, Massachusetts, for a little survey. In 1857, the number of churches in Massachusetts was four hundred and forty-four; *sixty with ministers not installed,* and *forty-two not supplied.* In 1867 the number of churches was four hundred and ninety-six; *one hundred and fourteen with ministers not installed,* and *eighty-seven not supplied.* The number of ministers not installed was nearly double in ten years, while the increase in the number of churches not supplied nearly equaled the increase in the whole number of churches. In 1877 the number of churches was five hundred and twenty-six; *one hundred and seventy-four with ministers not installed,* and *seventy-three without supply.* In the last ten years the number of churches increases by thirty; the number with ministers not installed increases by sixty, and the number without supply decreases by fourteen. For the last twenty years the number of churches increases by eighty-two, or an average of about four per year; the number with ministers not installed increases nearly threefold, or from sixty to one hundred and seventy-four, or on an average, nearly six a year, and the number not supplied also increases on an average of nearly two a year, or from forty-two to seventy-three. (Massachusetts and Connecticut are the only States reporting more ministers installed than uninstalled.) The two States reporting the next largest number of churches are New York and Illinois. In New York, of two hundred and fifty-nine churches, only fifty-nine, in Illinois, of two hundred and forty-two churches, only twenty-six, have ministers installed. Iowa reports two hundred and twenty-five churches, with only seventeen ministers installed. The whole number of churches in the country is 3,564. Of these, 2,693 are regularly supplied, but 1,795 of the ministers supplying are uninstalled. "*Tempora mutantur, mores mutantur.*"

Twenty years ago a leading and lively writer in our Quarterly makes the following statements: "Few men of middle age are

* Not designated.

now in their first pastorates. A few Sabbaths of preaching seminary sermons, a hasty vote, a council obliged to concur—this is the settlement; a few months of novelty, gradually waning to indifference, a few years of sameness, a restiveness on the part of minister or people, a difficulty through some troubler in Israel—this is the tenure; then a request for dismission on the ground of 'ill health,' a council to indorse the minister as an angel and the people as saints, condolence with the church in its 'great loss,' a separation—and this is the end." "Such," he adds, "are the majority of our pastorates." If that were true, making allowance for rhetorical and quizzical features of statement, before the war, it cannot be less so now. There are more reasons for this state of things than we are now called upon to canvass, but the facts are significant.*

Taking a broader and longer survey of this denomination, we find that until within a comparatively brief period, say sixty years, their churches were well supplied with pastors. In 1770, in Massachusetts, there were 294 Congregational churches, of which only 15, or about 5 per cent., were without settled pastors. In those days ministers were settled for life, and there was a complete union of Church and State.

With considerable research, we have been able to gather data covering several periods, showing the drift in the Congregational churches.

IN NEW ENGLAND.

	Churches.	Settled Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1830.—Maine	157	104	...	53
New Hampshire	146	116	...	30
Vermont	203	110	17	76
Massachusetts	227	208	...	19
Rhode Island †	16	10	5	1
Connecticut	223	183	...	40
Total New England	972	731	22 ‡	219
1870.—Total New England	1,442	671	444	327
1880.—Total New England	1,472	620	544	308
1882.—Maine	239	66	100	73
New Hampshire	188	68	66	54
Vermont	198	53	96	49
Massachusetts	532	274	178	80
Rhode Island	27	16	6	5
Connecticut	297	132	116	49
Total New England	1,481	609	562	310

* Rev. H. E. Barnes, in the "Congregational Quarterly," 1878, pp. 610, 611.

† For 1845, earlier cannot be obtained.

‡ Probably some vacant churches had stated supplies.

now in their first pastorates. A few Sabbaths of preaching seminary sermons, a hasty vote, a council obliged to concur—this is the settlement; a few months of novelty, gradually wearing to indifference, a few years of sameness, a restiveness on the part of minister or people, a difficulty through some trouble in locality, this is the issue; then a request for dismission on the ground of 'ill health,' a council to labore the minister as an angel and the people as saints, consolations with the church in its 'great loss,' a separation—and this is the end." "Such," he adds, "are the majority of our pastorates." If this were true, making allowance for rhetorical and pictorial features of statement, before the war, it cannot be less so now. There are more reasons for this state of things than we are now called upon to canvass, but the facts are significant.*

Taking a broader and longer survey of this denomination, we find that until within a comparatively brief period, say sixty years, their churches were well supplied with pastors. In 1770, in Massachusetts, there were 234 Congregational churches, of which only 18, or about 8 per cent, were without settled pastors. In those days ministers were settled for life, and there was a complete union of Church and State.

With considerable research, we have been able to gather data covering several periods, showing the drift in the Congregational churches.

IN NEW ENGLAND.

Years.	Churches.	Ministers.	Vacant Churches.	Vacant Churches, per cent.
1820.—Maine	247	195	.....	21
New Hampshire	246	216	.....	12
Vermont	203	170	33	16
Massachusetts	702	556	.....	21
Rhode Island †	16	16	0	0
Connecticut	252	183	.....	27
Total New England	1,466	1,136	330	22
1870.—Total New England	1,615	971	644	39.7
1880.—Total New England	1,475	970	505	34.2
1882.—Maine	320	231	89	27.8
New Hampshire	183	158	25	13.6
Vermont	198	157	41	20.7
Massachusetts	570	393	177	31.1
Rhode Island	21	16	5	23.8
Connecticut	297	178	119	40.1
Total New England	1,589	1,133	456	28.7

* See H. R. Haweis in the "Congregational Quarterly," 1874, pp. 422, 423.

† For 1813, service cannot be obtained.

‡ Probably some vacant churches had stated supplies.

PERCENTAGE OF THE FOREGOING CHURCHES WITH SETTLED PASTORS, STATED SUPPLIES, AND VACANT.

	Settled Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1830.....	75 per cent.	....*	24 per cent.
1870.....	47 "	31 per cent.	23 "
1880.....	42 "	37 "	21 "
1882.....	40 "	38 "	21 "

From the foregoing tables it is evident that the Congregational churches, even in their stronghold, New England, are gradually losing their "settled" ministry, the churches with pastors having decreased from 95 per cent. of the whole number in 1770, to 75 per cent. in 1830, 47 per cent. in 1870, and 40 per cent. in 1882; a little more than one fifth are vacant, and more than one third have stated supplies.

Turning to the whole country we find the following exhibit, covering a period of twenty-five years:

CONGREGATIONAL (ORTHODOX) PASTORATE IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Churches.	With Pastors.	With Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1857.....	2,315	947	592†	503†
1860.....	2,583	898	694†	537†
1870.....	3,121	903	1,438	780
1880.....	3,745	881	1,919	945
1882.....	3,936	927	1,986	1,023

PERCENTAGE ON ABOVE.

	With Pastors.	With Stated Supplies.	Vacant.
1857.....	41 per cent.	25 per cent.	21 per cent.
1860.....	34 "	27 "	21 "
1870.....	29 "	46 "	25 "
1880.....	24 "	51 "	25 "
1882.....	24 "	50 "	26 "

While the total number of churches has increased 1,621, the settled pastors have decreased from 947 to 927, or from 41 per cent. of the whole number to 24 per cent. The stated supplies increased from 592 to 1,986, or from 25 per cent. of the whole number to 50 per cent., and the churches wholly vacant increased from 503 to 1,023, or from 21 per cent. to 26 per cent. of all the churches.

Outside of New England, the supply of pastors for the

* Too small a number to be calculated.

† In some churches in these years these items were not specified, the statistics in those years being less full and accurate than in later years.

installation now does. None were ordained 'to the ministry,' but *over* churches." His conclusion is stated in these words, "From leading facts and principles, then, it would seem that the installation of pastors is a constituent element of the Congregational polity."

It is evident that the Congregational polity, as a system, fails, if it does not furnish pastors for the churches. The Congregationalist for January 9, 1868, in an editorial article in regard to stated supplies, said: "Of late years, an effort has been made to make the relation sound more Congregational, by styling those who hold it "acting pastors." It is clear to careful reflection upon the fundamental principles of our system that Congregationalism recognizes no such church officers as having any place among the regular force of her laborers. One of her cardinal doctrines is, that there are only two grades of regular church officers—pastors and deacons—known to Scripture. But a stated supply is not a deacon; equally, he is not a pastor; because the church has neither chosen him nor ordained him to be such. In a great many instances, as the thing works now, the church, as such, has taken no vote upon the matter, and has no official cognizance of the man at all; the engagement by which the supply is made "stated," instead of for a Sabbath or two, having been made by the parish committee, without so much as saying to the church "by your leave."

In reply to the inquiry whether Congregationalism is not a system of common sense, under which provision is made for such exigencies, the editor further says, Yes,

> but the radical and ineradicable difference between her theory of the whole matter and that of the system of stated supplies is that she regards no church, strong or weak, as in its normal condition without a pastor. Therefore she recognizes all other occupation of its pulpit as purely and necessarily exceptional and temporary; as simply a bridge over a lamented chasm. . . . The theory that it is right and wise for churches, because they are weak, or because they are peculiarly situated, or because they cannot quite find the man whom they are willing to settle, or for any other reason, to hire preachers by the year, as farmers do farm laborers, she utterly repudiates. . . . We could mention towns in New England where the preaching of an orthodox Congregational pulpit has been thus for years controlled by the parish committee; who have made all bargains with their

Congregational Church is very small, as will be seen by the following table for 1880:

ORTHODOX CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

	Churches.	Pastors.	Stated Supplies.	Vacant Churches.
United States	3,745	881	1,919	945
New England	1,472	620	544	308
Outside of New England	2,273	261	1,375	637

In the United States, outside of New England, only 11½ per cent. of the Congregational churches have pastors, 60½ per cent. have stated supplies, and 28 per cent. are vacant.

The Presbyterians show a more favorable record in the whole country, a result in part of the fact that their economy has something more of the connectional character. But their practice of settling ministers on the same principle of personal choice does not well supply their churches with pastors. In 1880, of 5,489 Presbyterian churches, 3,086, or 56 per cent., had pastors; 1,369, or 25 per cent., had stated supplies; and 1,034, or 19 per cent., were vacant. Combining the Congregational and the Presbyterian churches in the United States, we find 42 per cent. have pastors, 35 per cent. stated supplies, and 23 per cent. are vacant.

Of late, the question has been discussed among our Congregational brethren whether the installation of pastors should be considered essential to the Congregational polity. This was the topic of an able article in the Congregational Quarterly, in October, 1878. The writer discussed the question of principles and also of facts. He answered "the main question plumply in the affirmative." He said, "Theoretically and historically the installation of pastors is a constituent part of the Congregational polity." "Not ten years ago, Connecticut Congregationalism declared in grave speech and graver document that no uninstalled minister was a pastor, or could properly be a member of a council." But the writer thinks the logic of events seems to be answering this question in the negative.

The same writer says: "For a long time, the view was held and acted upon that a man was not a minister unless he was a pastor in charge of a church. For more than one hundred years of our history, moreover, ordination always meant what

"stated supplies," and all selections of them, the church meanwhile having had no direct cognizance of the matter at all.

The practical effect of so many churches being without pastors is very bad. They often remain many months, and even some years, in this condition. No church, however strong, will be exempt from serious losses, besides failing to make progress. The writer already quoted (an editorial writer) says:

A few years of such experiences are very apt to sink a church so low in its essential life, that it is almost impossible for it to have more than a name to live, (if it retain even that.)

Again:

We believe the feeblest church of Christ, west or east, new or old, should seek to have a pastor. That is God's way. The feebler it is the more it needs a pastor. Let them take one of their own humble members, if they can get none better qualified; but let them have a pastor, who shall dwell among them, and make their interests his own. Happy will be the day for the churches when these ill-omened letters, "S. S." and "A. P.," shall disappear from all our statistics.

Such is the testimony of an eminent Congregational editor.

Thus we have, on the one hand, Methodist societies fostered by a perpetual pastorate, and, on the other hand, denominations of the Congregational polity with a large percentage of their churches suffering from the want of pastors. What is the effect on the growth of these churches? I will give the statistics as gathered from the official sources of each.

The following table gives the number of the communicants:

CHURCHES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	Gain.
Baptists (all kinds).....	103,000	2,452,878	2,349,878
Congregationalists (orthodox) ..	75,000	384,332	309,332
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	40,000	937,640	897,640
Total.....	218,000	3,774,850	3,556,850

CHURCHES OF ITINERANT POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	Gain.
Methodists (all kinds of itinerant)	64,894	3,669,932	3,605,038

Methodism, starting in 1800 with less than one third as many members as all kinds of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists combined, has come to be nearly as numerous as all of them united, and her actual gain has been 48,188 more

than theirs. The relative increase to the population of the country is full of significance.

INHABITANTS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ONE COMMUNICANT.

CHURCHES OF THE CONGREGATIONAL POLITY.

	1800.	1880.	
Baptists, (all kinds).....	51	20	
Congregationalists (orthodox).....	71	131	— a relative decrease.
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	132	54	
Total, Churches of Congregational Polity.....	25	13	

CHURCHES OF ITINERANT POLITY.

	1800.	1880.
Methodists (all kinds).....	82	13

In 1800, the communicants of the Churches of the Congregational polity were 1-25th of the whole population of the country, while the communicants of the Methodist Churches were 1-82d part; but in 1880 the communicants of the former had become 1-13th part of the whole population, and those of Methodism had also become 1-13th part of it, a gain of 12 in the population in the former, and 69 in the latter.

We need not pursue these statistics any further. We do not, however, presume that the superior growth of Methodism is due wholly to her peculiar polity, which furnishes a perpetual pastorate; but it is too palpable to need argument that this perpetual pastorate, continually fostering the societies, has been a very large and important factor in its rapid growth; and that the small number of pastors, ranging from 56 per cent. (Presbyterians) to 23.5 per cent., (Congregational,) leaving from about one half to three fourths of the churches either vacant or with only temporary supplies, must be very disastrous to the growth of any Church.

The Boston Journal, May, 21, 1881, in an editorial, speaks of the disadvantages of the Congregation polity, as follows:

> Our local columns have lately contained reports of the case of a church in one of our Massachusetts towns which has installed a pastor after *nine years'* ineffectual quest. *Two hundred and forty different candidates had been heard by the church,* and the final settlement was accomplished over the protests of a minority, which *broke up one council on the score of technicalities, and endeavored to prevent the action of the second.* What were the reasons which lay back of this extraordinary lack of harmony we do not seek to inquire, and it would be no kindness to

rekindle controversies which we may hope to have been set finally at rest. But we may be allowed to use these circumstances as an illustration of a difficulty quite often encountered among churches with vacant pastorates—although not often manifested in so extreme and acute a form. We hardly know which is the more to be wondered at, in the case which we have mentioned—the *fastidiousness* of the church, or the endless succession of candidates, each as hopeful as his predecessor, who were willing to subject themselves to the critical scrutiny of a congregation, their chance of pleasing whom was about one in a thousand. . . . But this, serious as it is, is not the only evil that follows in the wake of this bad custom. It has a *demoralizing effect upon ministers*, who by the necessities of their position, when they are seeking a settlement, are tempted to consult popularity more than truth, and to preach what is palatable rather than what is profitable. No minister can be subjected to this sort of ordeal for any length of time without a distinct weakening of self-respect, and an uneasy sense of insincerity and unworthiness of motive. It serves further to deter young men from entering a profession the tenure in which is so hazardous.

Another fact appeared some years ago in the papers:

ITINERANCY.—The Congregational Church in Northampton, Mass., has had *twenty-nine* different clergymen since July, 1853, (about two and a half years,) *seventeen* of whom were *invited* by the "*committee*," with the expectation of being "candidates for the vacancy." It is a large and wealthy church. This is rather more of "itinerancy" than even the Methodists contend for.

Another paper had the following:

Bishop Paddock, of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, in his recent charge to his clergy, said that "pastoral changes are growing frequent. About *one* Episcopal minister in *five* is unsettled, and they change almost as fast as the Methodist." The Congregationalist says: "The same is too true with us, although we think there are signs of improvement. Somebody once said, sensibly: 'Four ministers out of five who resign do not need to, if they would realize it.'"

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Episcopalians have felt the disadvantages of their system. Prof. Tucker, of Andover Theological Seminary, presented before the last National Council of the Congregational Churches a paper upon the difficult question, how acting pastors or stated supplies could be recognized and invested with fuller powers, and brought into closer official relations with the churches they serve. The fact that the stated supplies in his denomination are two and a fourth times as many as the pastors, with a

continual increase in that direction, seems to necessitate some such action. The precise piece of ecclesiastical mechanism that will fit the case has not yet, however, been discovered.

In the Presbyterian Church, the committee on the "Pastoral Relation," in the report to the General Assembly, in May, 1881, after deploring the number of *vacant* churches, among other causes of their being in that condition, specifies the following: "A want of system in bringing those who are able and willing to work and the vacant churches together." To meet this need the committee recommend the following plan: A committee in each Presbytery to prepare a list of the vacant churches and the unemployed ministers, "who shall send" the ministers to the vacant churches, and that all unemployed ministers, able for service, who refuse to be placed on the list, and work under the direction of the Presbytery, if not excused, be retired, and so reported to the General Assembly.* This plan approaches very nearly to the system under which the Methodist presiding elders work.

But this persistent seeking of one's own selfish preferences in the settlement of a pastor not only results in the general disadvantage of leaving many churches without a pastor to suffer and to decline, but it often produces unhallowed and pernicious agitations. The choice of a new pastor often imperils the well-being of a church. Divisions and distractions spring up. Said Rev. John Angell James: †

> It must be admitted that, on these occasions, our principles as Independents and our practices as Christians have not unfrequently been brought into disrepute. We have been accused of wrangling about a *teacher* of religion till we have lost all our religion in the affray; and the state of many congregations proves that the charge is not altogether without foundation.

Again he says:

> We carry into the sanctuary and into the church our pride, our self-will, our personal taste. That spirit of mutual submission, brotherly love, and surrender of our own gratification to the good of others, which the word of God enjoins and our profession avows would keep the church always happy and harmonious, and enable it to pass in safety through the most critical circumstances in which it can be placed. Instead of seeking the good of the whole, the feelings of too many of our members may be thus summarily expressed—"*I will have my own way.*"

* "Minutes Gen. Assemb., 1881," p. 547. † "Church Members' Guide," p. 165.

Our itinerant polity, properly worked, will insure against these evils. The spirit which Mr. James recommends as the remedy for the evils incident to the Congregational polity—mutual submission, the surrender of personal preferences to the greatest good—is the basis of our itinerancy. Both ministers and societies with us waive personal choices, in order that the great ends for which the Church is founded may be more fully accomplished. Is it objected that, under the itinerant polity, churches sometimes receive undesirable ministers? I reply, Do not churches which call and settle their ministers often find themselves mistaken in their choice, and burdened with an undesirable minister whom they cannot easily get rid of? But if a Methodist society gets an undesirable minister, is it not better thus than to be left a year, possibly several years, without any pastor; and can it not, for the general good, be patiently borne for a year, when exchange can be easily effected?

It is also true that a Methodist minister will sometimes have an undesirable society; but that is not so bad as to have no place, and to be obliged to go about the country exhibiting himself and seeking a call. He will certainly bear it, if he be a true servant of God, when he considers it part of an administration for the general good.

What, then, is the conclusion to which we come, as regards the question of Church polity? We learn that the denominations which retain their personal preferences, in deciding the pastorate, do so to the detriment of the general good; and that those who forego their personal preferences, do so to the advantage of the cause at large. It cannot be impertinent to ask, *Which is the more Christian: to please ourselves, as ministers and churches, to the injury of the cause of God, or to sacrifice personal preferences for the good of the cause as a whole?* And which kind of Church polity recognizes the fundamental principle of the Gospel, that we are "members one of another?"

1. It is very plain, therefore, that the itinerant economy of Methodism, by which its preachers are assigned to their fields of labor, which has occasioned so much criticism, and the other great connectional features of our Church polity are founded upon *the most vital principle of God's spiritual kingdom*, that

we are "members one of another;" yea, more, our Church polity is deeply rooted *in the fundamental race principle*, which recognizes the whole human family as "members one of another." Let this principle be everywhere discarded in common life, and the race will not survive one generation; let it be discarded in the Church of God, and weakness and disintegration must follow.

2. From this discussion we see the logical and the vital relation of our "*General* Superintendency" to the economy of Methodism, and how incongruous a diocesan episcopacy would be in our peculiar polity.

3. We see, too, the indispensableness of the Presiding Eldership in our Church organization, and especially to the working of our itinerancy. It is not only a legitimate, but a necessary concomitant of our polity—a connecting link, and an administrative factor.

4. In this light, too, we see why our peculiar tenure of Church property, especially the clause required to be put into all the deeds of churches and parsonages, is necessary. It is a wise and legitimate provision for any Church which maintains an itinerant ministry. Without it the ministers could not be stationed. No society which assents to the itinerancy can logically refuse to conform to this condition. The unifying bond that binds us in a common life must include the sanctuary, as well as the individual. The Church property must yield to this self-sacrificing spirit for the good of the whole. The same thing is true of all our connectional institutions and funds, the Book Concerns, the colleges, etc. They must be held by such tenures that they may subserve the general Church.

5. Our system of providing for the superannuated preachers by funds raised from the societies at large is also germane to our peculiar Church economy. Having shared in whatever disadvantages are involved in the itinerancy, for the good of the cause at large, and the societies having reaped the advantages of these self-sacrificing labors, it is fitting that the pecuniary support of the worn-out servants of the Church should be made a common cause.

6. So also all our connectional collections are a part of a great scheme. The collections for Foreign Missions, for Home

Missions, for Church Aid, for Freedmen's Aid, Education, etc., are put before all our people, on the principle that we are "members one of another."

7. The administration of discipline upon ministers by Conferences, rather than by individual societies, as in other denominations, is also based on this principle. An itinerant minister belongs to the Church at large, and is liable to be appointed anywhere.

8. But this peculiar economy cannot endure the inordinate self-seeking, the unscrupulous scheming, the selfish combinations of over-ambitious men, either in the ministry or the laity. These things are foreign to its spirit, and the effect of them can only be ruinous. Every instance of such exhibitions is a breach of good faith with our polity. The germinal center and the animating spirit of the polity of Methodism is self-sacrifice of the individual for the good of the whole. It should be administered on this principle. It can be perpetuated on no other. An inordinate, scheming self-hood will destroy it.

Art. II.—SLAVERY IN THE NORTH.

"Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer." But hatred does not always take the form of murder. When it pervades clans or states and culminates in war, the war does not go on to extermination. The fiercest revenge is at last softened, and life is spared on the condition of servitude. This was probably the origin of slavery. But when the condition of slavery was established its ranks were replenished by other means. As the slave could utter no complaint, and his wrongs could have no redress, all manner of crimes were buried in its dark recesses. If Joseph could be taken from a princely family and consigned to slavery, we may know that it covered other cases of greed and revenge, and that there was a place for the slave-trader and the kidnapper; and as it lived on human passion, we need not marvel that it became almost universal. Abraham, in his pastoral life, was ministered to by slaves; and the Israelites, under the code of Moses, continued to have a mild form of slavery. It belonged to the Grecian,

the Egyptian, and the Roman civilizations, and was prevalent, to some extent, in the nations of modern Europe.

In England slavery existed during the Heptarchy, and it was the presence of some fair-haired Saxon children in the slave-market of Rome that moved Pope Gregory to send out St. Augustine to convert the rude Britons to Christianity. But under the operation of the feudal system the people of England outgrew slavery ~~without being~~ committed against it; and when the American colonies were being settled she had nearly a monopoly of the African slave-trade, and took care that her colonies were abundantly supplied with slaves. But it must be said that she acted only in conformity with the usages of those times. For many generations the Mohammedan States of Northern Africa were in the habit of making slaves of all Christians. They plundered the northern shores of the Mediterranean, and carried their captives—men, women, and children — to the slave-market; and when, in 1537, Charles V. made his memorable descent on these pirates, he released twenty thousand Christian slaves; and, to make the balances something like even, he carried back with him about half that number of Mohammedans who were doomed for life to the galleys of Italy, Spain, and Malta.

There were no scruples against slavery in England, and, from the reign of Queen Anne, the slave-trade was among the most cherished interests of the government. In June, 1712, the queen, in her speech from the throne, took great glory to her administration, that in the treaty of Utrecht she had been able to secure the right of furnishing Negroes to the Spanish West Indies for the term of thirty years. Then, and many years later, there was no public opinion against slavery; and, at the planting of the colonies, Negroes were so persistently thrust upon them as to sometimes cause complaint. Hence, the colonists were familiarized with slavery from their first settlement, and it was regarded as quite in the natural order of things, not only to buy Negroes, as being heathen, but to enslave Indians taken in "lawful warres." If Abraham kept servants who were bought with money from the stranger, and the Old Testament Scriptures presented examples of captives who were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water," the New England Puritans, at least, could have no scruples about

making slaves of the "heathen," and their only anxiety seems to have been to preserve the checks and guards of the Mosaic code, and to prevent the harsh and cruel treatment of the slaves.

The Indians were not a tractable race, and the men, especially, had so many resources for escape, that it was a little difficult to apply the discipline necessary to make them obedient and serviceable. But the near vicinity of the West Indies provided a remedy for this difficulty; and when prisoners were captured it seems to have been the custom to distribute the women and girls to the colonists, but to send away such of the men and boys as were obstinate to be exchanged for Negroes. Hence, after the exterminating war which was waged against the Pequods in Massachusetts in 1637, Governor Winthrop, of the Bay Colony, in writing to Governor Bradford, of the Plymouth Colony, says:

> The prisoners were divided; some to those of ye river (Connecticut) and the rest to us. Of these we send the male children to Bermuda by Mr. William Peirce, & ye women & maid children are disposed of about in ye tounes. Ther have now been slaine or taken, in all, about 700.*

Winthrop records in his journal the return of Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship "Desire," "with some cotton, tobacco, and Negroes." Hubbard, the contemporary historian of the Indian wars, according to Moore, confirms this statement. He says: "Of those who were not so desperate or sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas. Of the female, some were distributed to the English towns, and some were disposed of among the other Indians." That is to say, Indians who had assisted the English in prosecuting the war.

A little later, after the King Philip war, (1676,) this plan of disposing of Indian captives was pushed further, and some hundreds of Indians were sent out to be exchanged for Negroes. Among them seems to have been the wife and son of Philip; and Mr. Everett, in one of his orations, refers to the matter thus:

> And what was the fate of Philip's wife and son? The boy is the grandson, his mother the daughter-in-law, of good and

* "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts." By George H. Moore, Librarian to the New York Historical Society, and corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. New York: Appleton & Co. 1866.

Massasoit, the first and best friend the English ever had in New England. Perhaps—now that Philip is slain and his warriors scattered to the four winds they will allow his wife and son to go back—the widow and the orphan—to finish their days and sorrows in their native wilderness. No! They are sold into slavery—West Indian slavery! An Indian princess and her child sold from the cool breezes of Mount Hope, from the wild freedom of a New England forest, to gasp under the lash beneath the blazing sun of the tropics.

Among the earliest laws passed by the General Court of Massachusetts was one touching this subject. It does not indicate, as some have contended, that the colonists were averse to slavery, and only tolerated it out of regard to English interests. It provides, indirectly, for the slavery of both Negroes and Indians, as follows:

> There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage, or captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawfull captives taken in just warres or such strangers as willingly sell themselves or are sold to us, and these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authoritie.*

It will be observed that the word *strangers*, which was evidently inserted to give it a remote reference to the Mosaic code, does not cover the enslaving of children born of slave mothers. Still, in any slave-holding community the *unless* would be regarded as giving about all the privileges that the slave-holder would deem requisite for the security of his supply; but the boundaries were still further enlarged at a later date by substituting the words *such as* for *strangers*, making it include Indians "taken in just warres," Negroes brought from Africa or the West Indies, criminals condemned to slavery by the courts, and Negroes other than *strangers*—that is to say, *such as* were born of slave mothers. Mr. Palfrey, Mr. Sumner, and some other distinguished antislavery leaders have declared that "no person was ever born into legal slavery in Massachusetts;" but Mr. Sumner prudently added in his famous speech of June 28, 1854, "If, in point of fact, the issue of slaves was sometimes held in bondage, it was never by sanction of any statute law of colony or commonwealth." This will probably strike the reader as a pretty liberal construction

* "Slavery in Massachusetts," page 12.

of the law above cited; but whatever was the theory, there was no dispute about the practice. The children of slave mothers were constantly held in bondage, not only in Massachusetts, but in all the other colonies. In a fugitive-slave case which was carried before the Connecticut General Assembly in 1704, the facts of usage were thus stated:

> According to the laws and constant practice of this colony and all other plantations (as well as by the civil law) such persons as are born of Negro bondwomen are themselves in like condition—that is, born in servitude. Nor can there be any precedent in this government or any of her Majesty's plantations produced to the contrary. And, though the law of the colony doth not say that such persons as are born of Negro women, and supposed to be mulattoes, shall be slaves, (which was needless, because of the constant practice by which they are held as such,) yet it saith expressly that "no man shall put away or make free his Negro or mulatto slave," etc., which undeniably shows and declares an approbation of such servitude, and that mulattoes may be held as slaves within this government.*

Considering what was the inevitable result of "just warres" with the Indians, it is not surprising that they were matters of no small interest to some of the colonists. Moore quotes an interesting letter touching this point. It seems that the father of the famous Sir George Downing married a sister of Governor Winthrop, and, on coming from England to Massachusetts, he took an active interest in the affairs of the colony. He was much troubled about the "paw wawes" of the Narragansetts, and was particularly aggrieved that they should be suffered thus "to maynteyne the worship of the Devill." His remedy is stated in a letter to his brother-in-law, as follows:

> If, upon a Just warre, the Lord should deliver them into our hands, we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gayneful pilladge for us than wee conceive; for I do not see how we can thrive until we gitt into a flock of slaves sufficient to do all our business.†

Indians, as has been said, were somewhat difficult to manage; but the practice of sending them to the West Indies to exchange for Negroes, or, as Mr. Downing calls them, Moors, offered a feasible plan for getting into "a flock of slaves." But the extract is valuable not only as showing the use of "just

* "Slavery in Massachusetts," page 25. † *Ibid.*, page 10.

warres," but the value that was put upon slavery. It is often said that slavery was abolished in the Northern States because it was not profitable; but whether it was profitable or not, the slave-owners clung to it with a wonderfully tenacious grip, and there were others besides Mr. Downing who felt that the one thing needful was to "gitt into a flock of slaves."

At first the slaves were not numerous, and were not regarded as of much account; but their value appreciated as the colonies advanced, and their number rapidly increased. Even in Pennsylvania the number of slaves had swelled to ten thousand at the breaking out of the war; and although the Quaker colony was in advance of the others in dealing with inferior races, it does not seem to have been exempt from the common weakness in regard to slavery. The article on slavery in the American Cyclopedia says: "The Quakers were opposed to slavery and the slave-trade from the beginning of their existence." If this was so, how did it come to pass that the Quaker Legislature of Pennsylvania allowed it to take root and grow to such enormous proportions? On this subject Mr. Moore gives us some very instructive facts. In 1688 a small body of Quakers living at Germantown, who had come from a town in Germany not far from Worms, were disturbed in mind by complaints from home about the usages in Pennsylvania touching slavery; and at one of their meetings they determined to draw up a protest and send it to "the monthly meeting held at Richard Worrells." It was accordingly written and signed by four leading Friends. In it they say:

> Pray what thing in the world can be done worse toward us than if men should rob or steal us away and sell us for slaves to strange countries, separating husbands from their wives and children?

And they conclude by this appeal:

> Now, consider well this thing, if it is good or bad. And in case you find it to be good to handle these blacks in this manner, we desire and regard you hereby, lovingly, that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, *viz.*, that Christians have such liberty to do so, to the end we shall be satisfied on this point, and satisfy likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our native country, to whom it is a terror or fearful thing that men should be handled so in Pennsylvania.

This paper, "from our Meeting in Germantown held ye 18th of 2d month, 1688," was duly considered at the monthly meeting; but no action was taken on it, for the reason that "We find it so weighty that we think it not expedient for us to meddle with it *here*, but rather commit it to ye consideration of ye quarterly meeting." It accordingly went up to the quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, where it was read "on ye 4th of ye 4th month, '88," and recommended to the attention of the yearly meeting, which met at Burlington in July of the same year; and the minute of the yearly meeting in regard to this very difficult question, as to whether one Christian can buy or sell another, is in the following words:

> At a Yearly Meeting, held at Burlington the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688: A paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Buying and Keeping of Negroes, It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, it having so general a Relation to many other Parts, and, therefore, at present they Forbear It.—Page 78.

Their answer does not take the color of a very obstinate opposition. Slavery "had so general a relation to many other parts" that they "adjudged" it best not to give any opinion, but to let the buying and selling of Christians go on. A little later (1699) William Penn proposed to his Quaker Legislature that they should provide by law for the marriage, religious instruction, and kind treatment of slaves; and a bill was reported in accordance with his suggestions, but when it came to a vote it was rejected. Still later, in 1712, a petition was sent up to the Legislature, praying for the passage of a bill which provided in some way for the emancipation of the slaves. But the committee to which it was referred reported that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty." *

This action, or want of action, explains why slavery continued to grow in Pennsylvania; and we may well believe that it was "inconvenient" to part with it. But the facts cited are further important, as showing that slavery had as firm a grip on the people of these colonies as on those of South Carolina and Georgia. It is probably true that the hardships of slavery were lighter in the North than in the South, and that the

* "Blake on Slavery," page 381.

attempts to apply to it the Mosaic code were not wholly without results. There was a prejudice, too, against enslaving baptized Christians; and in New York the Dutch code (1665) expressly provides that "no Christian shall be kept in bond-slavery, villeinage, or captivity, except such who shall be judged thereunto by authority, or such as willingly sold or shall sell themselves." But the tenacity manifested in clinging to the system appears to have been quite as great at the North as at the South.

There was, however, one exception to the general indifference respecting the slavery of inferior races; and, curiously enough, that exception was among the *heretics* of Rhode Island. According to Mr. Moore, whose careful researches give great weight to his statements, the only case of positive legislation against slavery through the whole colonial period and, so far as he can ascertain, in all the world down to the middle of the 16th century, took place under the eye of Roger Williams, who had been driven out of Massachusetts and banished "for divers new and dangerous opinions." This legislation, standing thus conspicuously alone, is in the following words:

The commissioners of Providence and Warwicke,* being lawfully mett and sett, on the second day of their session, (19th of May, 1652,) enact and ordain:

"*Whereas*, there is a common course practiced among Englishmen to buy Negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever: for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordained: That no black mankind or white, being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assighnes longer than ten years, or untill they come to be 24 years of age, if they be taken in under 14, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or terme of 10 years to sett them free, as is the manner with English servants. And that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to the end that they may be enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.—Page 73.

This brave and manly record was made against the general public opinion of the colonies, and found no imitators. It was

* The colony of Rhode Island consisted of the Providence Plantations, Warwick, and the Plantations of Rhode Island. The last does not appear to have participated in this legislation.

probably due to the influence of the Quakers, then strong in the colony, and true to the traditional opinions of their founder who denounced the trade in slaves and dissuaded his followers from having any connection with an institution which did not square with the golden Christian rule. His course had a decided influence on all his followers in America; and although many of them became slave-owners, and at first hesitated and faltered in their course under the strong influences that surrounded them, they soon began to take a more decided stand, especially against the traffic.

After the action of the German Quakers, to which reference has already been made, the proceedings of the Quakers in England against slavery were felt by the denomination in this country, and at the yearly meeting of 1696 in Pennsylvania, Friends were advised to guard against future importations of African slaves. Again, in 1711 and in 1754, the yearly meeting spoke out on the subject. In 1754 their pastoral letter contained an exhortation to desist from "purchasing and importing" slaves, and where they possessed them "to have a tender consideration for their condition." The next year they returned to the subject again, and advised that if any members bought or imported slaves they should be reported to their quarterly meeting, to the end that they might be dealt with "as might be directed in the wisdom of truth." Under this influence the rigors of slavery were greatly softened in Pennsylvania, but no decided measures were taken for its suppression.

But while there was no decided official action against slavery in any quarter, save in the little colony of Rhode Island, there were not wanting protests against it. These were, however, like angels' visits, few and far between. In relation to Massachusetts, Mr. Moore undertakes to enumerate them, about as follows: A paper by Judge Sewall, in 1700, on the "Selling of Joseph" was a forcible tract of three pages, for which, as appears from his own statement, he received "many frowns and hard words." In it he says:

> The numerousness of slaves in this day in the province, and the uneasiness of them under slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation of it be firmly and well laid, so as to sustain the vast weight built upon it. It is most certain that

men, as they are the sons of Adam, are co-heirs, and have equal right unto liberty and all other outward comforts of life.

In relation to his text, which was "Joseph," he says:

Joseph was rightfully no more a slave to his brethren than they were to him; and they had no more authority to sell him than they had to slay him. And if they had nothing to do to sell him, the Ishmaelites, bargaining with them, and paying down their twenty pieces of silver, could not make a title. Neither could Potiphar have any better interest in him than the Ishmaelites.—Page 84.

In 1701 the town of Boston, probably moved by Sewall's tract, instructed its representatives in the General Court to act in favor of the policy of bringing over white servants and putting an end to the buying of Negro slaves.*

In 1716 the Quaker monthly meeting at Nantucket declared, "as ye sense and judgment of this meeting, that it is not agreeable to truth (rectitude) for Friends to purchase slaves and hold them term of life."—Page 109.

In 1733 Elihu Coleman, a minister of the Society of Friends in Nantucket, in pursuance of the views expressed at a previous monthly meeting, issued a tract entitled "A testimony against that anti-Christian practice of making slaves of men; wherein it is showed to be contrary to the dispensation of the law and time of the Gospel, and very opposite to both grace and nature." On the title-page is also quoted the words of Christ: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do you even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets."—Page 108.

These may not be all, but the fact that they are all that can be easily found shows how strongly intrenched in the habits and usages of society slavery was. Then it should be observed that these movements stand apart, and produce no considerable impression on the public mind, although they proceed from the moral stand-point, and maintain that slavery is wrong, that it is contrary to individual rights and to the golden rule of Christ. But, in the meantime, slavery continued steadily to increase in all the colonies.

In 1715 the following table was compiled for the use of the Board of Trade, which is interesting as giving the population

* "Bancroft's History," page 409.

of all the colonies at that time, and their relation to slavery. It is copied from Blake's History, page 378:

POPULATION OF THE COLONIES IN 1715.

	White.	Negroes.	Total.
New Hampshire	9,500	150	9,650
Massachusetts	94,000	2,000	96,000
Rhode Island	8,500	500	9,000
Connecticut	46,000	1,500	47,500
New York	27,000	4,000	31,000
New Jersey	21,000	1,500	47,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware	43,300	2,500	45,800
Maryland	40,700	9,500	50,200
Virginia	72,000	23,000	95,000
North Carolina	7,500	3,700	11,200
South Carolina	6,250	10,500	16,750

Here the number of slaves in Massachusetts is estimated at 2,000. A little before, in 1700, they were rated at about 6,[illegible]. In 1754 a census was taken by order of the governor, because the General Court had passed a resolution to tax slaves as property. But the enumeration only extended to those who were above ten years of age. The number was found to be 4,489. Ten years later (1764) a similar census showed the number to be 5,779. But it not only increased, it rooted itself more and more in the habits and interests of the people, and was always able, not only in Massachusetts, but in all the colonies, to control public sentiment and legislative action. Even in Rhode Island the action of 1652 did not put an end to slavery. It was overborne by the common sentiment, and in 1776 the colony is reported as having 4,373 slaves.

But a time arrived when there was a break in the continuity and public opinion began to change. When the British Government, by their oppressive acts, provoked the great discussion in regard to colonial rights, they unwittingly sounded the doom of slavery. The first important blow was delivered by James Otis in 1761, when he made his famous argument against the "writs of assistance." And if, as John Adams declared, the American Revolution "was then and there born," it was equally true that "deliverance to the captive" was then and there assured. The "writs of assistance" were measures sustaining the restrictive acts of the government in relation to trade. England undertook to tie the colonies down to trade with her alone; and as the laws enacted for that purpose were

evaded, and smuggling had greatly increased, the officers of the customs found it necessary to have more power, and applied to the courts to grant them, through these writs of assistance, power to call to their aid all the executive officers of the government and, in fact, all the people, and to make search where they chose without preliminary ceremonies. So bold a measure in the interest of arbitrary power awakened the greatest excitement in Boston, then a town of 15,000 inhabitants, and called out all the combative enthusiasm of Boston's greatest orator. Mr. Otis was then a young man of 36; a lawyer of large reading and brilliant endowments who was comfortably provided for as the Judge Advocate of the colony. It was of course his duty, as an advocate in the employ of the government, to stand by its measures. But he promptly and peremptorily refused, and at once surrendered his commission and determined to oppose the granting of the writs. Accordingly, when Chief-Justice Hutchinson and his four associates took up the case in the Old Boston Town House, and Jeremiah Gridley appeared for the Crown, declaring that "to refuse the writ would be to deny that the Parliament of Great Britain was the sovereign legislator of the British Empire," Otis arose to oppose him, and made the great argument with which his fame and the founding of an empire of freedom is connected. But what concerns our present purpose is that *he struck the key note of* UNIVERSAL LIBERTY and laid down principles in relation to the rights of the people which were universally accepted by the lovers of liberty in all the colonies, and which, when applied to individuals, made slavery impossible. It is a little difficult at this remote date to know precisely what that speech contained; and Mr. Bancroft, in his luminous history of it, supposes that John Adams, who is its chief reporter, mingled with it some of the utterances which were made by Otis at a later period. But then or later, when he was a member of the General Court, he declared that reason and the Constitution were paramount to the British Parliament; that laws restricting the trade of the colonies are unjust and of no binding force; that the "administrators of legislative or executive authority, when they verge toward tyranny, are to be resisted; and that "there can be no prescription old enough to supersede *the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty*,

who has given all men a right to be free." A little later he was more explicit in regard to slavery, maintaining that "no good reason can be given for enslaving those of any other color. Is it right," he asked, "to enslave a man because his color is black, or his hair short and curls like wool? Can any logical inference in favor of slavery be drawn from a flat nose or a long or short face? Liberty," he exclaimed, "is the gift of God, and cannot be annihilated!"

The burning words of Otis fired the colonies from one extreme to the other, and Adams, then a young man of 25, declares that he could never afterward read the Acts of Trade without a feeling of anger; but he could not, at first, accept the radical position taken by the orator, and declares that he "shuddered at the doctrines which Otis taught." Of course, these doctrines were mainly applied to the circumstances in hand, and not to Negro slavery; but as they spread through the colonies they fastened on minds which took in their logical consequences, and from that day slavery began to wane in Massachusetts and in most of the other northern colonies. In the South the doctrines of Otis and their logical tendencies were accepted by the leaders of public opinion; but the new developments in the culture of cotton made slavery so profitable that a majority could never be brought to relinquish it. Washington avowed in his correspondence that "it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery may be abolished by law." Patrick Henry wrote: "Would any body believe that I am a master of slaves by my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them; but I cannot, I will not, justify it." Madison, George Mason, Col. Bland, and Mr. Jefferson stood on the same basis. Mr. Jefferson and other Southern members of Congress voted for and succeeded in securing the exclusion of slavery from the North-west Territory, and in the Virginia Assembly, on motion of Mr. Jefferson, (1778,) the further introduction of slaves into Virginia was prohibited. A little later (1782) the old colonial statute forbidding emancipation was repealed; and Maryland followed the example of Virginia in both these cases. But Mr. Jefferson says "he soon saw that nothing was to be hoped," and in a letter, in his old age, he narrates a bit of his experience thus:

From those of a former generation, who were in the fullness of age when I came into public life, I soon learned that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few had yet doubted that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed by no alarm and little reflection on the value of liberty, and when alarm was taken at an enterprise of their own it was not easy to carry them the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the Legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respectable members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws for these people. I seconded his motion, and, as a younger member, was more spared in the debate ; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country and was treated with the greatest indecorum.*

The discussion went on, hot and fierce, in all the colonies, and ended in the long Revolutionary War, which brought independence and liberty of action. In the meantime, many Negroes had gone into the army and laid down their lives for a liberty which they did not possess, deepening the convictions which had fastened on the public mind and which were everywhere manifested by calls on the newly made States to blot out the black stain of slavery. The change that was going on in public opinion was reflected across the water; and the people of England began to speak out against slavery and the slave-trade as they had never done before. In 1765 the case of Jonathan Strong enlisted the sympathies of Grenville Sharpe, and challenged the attention of a great portion of the English people; in 1768 another slave case was brought to the attention of the English courts through the sympathy of Mr. Sharpe, and was decided in favor of the slave. In 1774 John Wesley issued his celebrated tract on slavery; and two years later David Hartley, a member of Parliament, and Adam Smith, a distinguished author, came out against it. The English pulpit also began to thunder against it, and the public opinion of England was so wrought upon that when the Somerset case came before Lord Mansfield in 1772 it was so treated as to

* Quoted by Blake, page 390.

reverse the action of all the preceding courts, and put an end to slavery in England.*

In the Northern American Colonies and States the course of action was not very different, and the general procedure may be inferred from what took place in Massachusetts. There the change began to manifest itself:

1. By what were called "liberty suits" brought before the courts. All attempts to free the slaves by legislation failed, although the action seemed to indicate a majority in the General Court against it; but individuals, inspired by the views of liberty which now prevailed in the State, instituted suits in special cases in which slaves demanded wages withheld from them on the ground that they were slaves, while they claimed their freedom; or for being unlawfully held in servitude, or for being beaten by those claiming to be their masters. These suits were not numerous, but they were generally decided in favor of the slaves. They had no effect, however, beyond the individual actions which they settled.

2. Another indication of the change is to be found in the more frequent and earnest action of individuals and communities in regard to the wrong of slavery. The press began to groan with tracts against it. In 1767 an anonymous tract of twenty pages was written by Nathaniel Appleton, a merchant of Boston. In 1769 Rev. Samuel Webster published "An Earnest Address to my Country on Slavery." In 1773 James Swan, a merchant of Boston, printed "A Dissuasion from the Slave-Trade, Showing the Injustice Thereof."

In 1763 the representatives from Salem were instructed to use their exertions "to prevent the importation of Negroes into Massachusetts," as "repugnant to the natural rights of mankind and highly prejudicial to the province." In the same year the town of Medford instructed its member "to use his utmost influence to have a final period put to that most cruel, inhuman, and unchristian practice—the slave-trade." In the

*James Somerset, an African slave, went to England with his master, James Stewart, in 1769, and soon after left without leave and was seized and put on a vessel to be carried out of the Kingdom and sold. The question before the court was whether a slave by coming into England became free. The case was argued in January, February, and May, attracting great attention, and the result was a determination that as soon as a slave set his foot on English territory he became free.—*Blake on Slavery*, page 165.

same year the town of Leicester instructed its representative "that we cannot behold but with the greatest abhorrence any of our fellow-creatures in a state of slavery." Hence, they demand that he shall act against it. In 1765 the town of Worcester required its representative to "use his influence to obtain a law to put an end to that unchristian and impolitic practice of making slaves of the human species," etc. In 1766 the town of Boston instructed its representatives "for the total abolition of slavery among us, and that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchase of slaves for the future."

3. Another indication to the same effect was the decrease of slavery in the colony. We have seen that it increased rapidly prior to the agitation in regard to colonial rights, and that at the census of 1764, three years after the speech of James Otis on the "writs of assistance," the number of slaves was 5,779. But thenceforward, although the population continued to increase, the slaves diminished in number. In 1776, when the next census was taken, they numbered only 5,249, and every year thereafter showed a small decrease, till the whole system was swept away.

4. Another indication existed in the changed tone of religious men and religious denominations. Opposition to slavery grew strong in the Churches, and the pulpit began to thunder against it. Among the great names in controversial theology was that of Rev. Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island—the head and front of Hopkinsianism and the leading character in Mrs. Stowe's celebrated novel, "The Minister's Wooing." Her account of his determined opposition to slavery, his denunciation of it from the pulpit, and the divisions which it caused in his church and congregation, is the history of many other ministers and churches in the Northern States. The Quakers, as we have seen, were among the earliest to go to the rescue of the slave. The Presbyterians, in the United Synod of New York and Philadelphia, acting as the General Assembly of the Church in America, issued a pastoral letter in 1778 in which they strongly recommended the abolition of slavery and the instruction of the Negroes in letters and religion. The Methodists, then just rising into notice as a religious denomination, were very earnest for the abolition of slavery, and called its members to a strict account for the treatment of their slaves.

Blake, in his history says: "They had even gone so far as to disqualify slave-holders to be members of their communion." He adds that "Coke, their first Bishop, was exceedingly zealous on this subject, but that the rule was afterward relaxed."

This high ground on the subject of slavery is in curious contrast with the action of "Old John Street" a little earlier. According to Rev. J. B. Wakeley, this old church, the first Methodist church built in America, bought a slave to do the sweeping and cleaning of the building, and to perform the general duties of sexton. This curious piece of church history shows more conclusively than any words would do the complete obliviousness that then existed of any wrong in the practice of holding slaves, and the great change that took place when the wrong was duly exposed.

5. Still another indication was to be found in the formation of societies to promote the abolition of slavery. A society of this description, organized in Philadelphia in 1787, was sustained by the great names of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Rush. Dr. Franklin was president, and Dr. Rush and Tench Coxe, secretaries. Its object was "to promote the abolition of slavery, to relieve the free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and to improve the condition of the African race." A similar society in New York had behind it the name and influence of John Jay, soon to be Chief-Justice of the United States Court. But the change in public sentiment was not confined, as we have seen, to the Northern States. It also prevailed largely in the States South. Immediately after the war the Legislature of Virginia appointed Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Wythe a commission to revise the State laws. In the performance of their duty the question arose as to what should be the action in reference to slavery. After considering the matter and consulting with friends they agreed to report a clause in favor of gradual emancipation. But when the revision was completed, and was ready to be presented to the House of Delegates, (1785,) Mr. Jefferson had gone to France as minister, and those who shared his views thought that the favorable moment had not arrived for such a measure, and the clause was stricken from the report.

It thus appears that as the colonies grew slavery grew with them, without check or hinderance, till the agitation broke out

which preceded the war; that doctrines were then inculcated which could not be applied to slavery without destroying it; that the logical tendencies of those doctrines were generally perceived and produced a strong effect in all the colonies, and that in the North they culminated in such action as swept slavery, in due course of time, out of existence.

The first State to get rid of slavery at a blow was Massachusetts. In 1780 her people adopted a Constitution in which was inserted some "glittering generalities" about liberty. It does not appear that the clause was adopted with any view to the uses which it served. It was in the Bill of Rights, and was simply a rehearsal of the current views in relation to popular liberty. Here are its words:

> All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

In the following year some suits, similar to the "liberty suits" which have been mentioned, were decided by the lower courts—some in one way and some in another. Among them was one "for assault and battery and false imprisonment," which was carried up and, in 1783, tried by the Supreme Judicial Court. The defense of the master was that the black was his slave, and that the beating, etc., were the restraint and correction necessary to secure obedience. This was answered by citing the clause above quoted from the Bill of Rights. The court held that the master had no right to beat or imprison the Negro under that provision,* and he was found guilty and fined forty shillings. This settled the question of slavery in Massachusetts, and at the next United States census no slaves were registered against that State.

In 1776 the remaining Northern States, as appears from a table in Blake's "History of Slavery," had slaves as follows:

* The same judges and the same public opinion would have delivered Virginia under the Bill of Rights, which stands or stood at the head of the Constitution then in force. Its declaration of rights is as follows: "All men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity, namely, the enjoyment of life, liberty," etc.—*Bigelow's Constitutions.*

Rhode Island, 4,373; Connecticut, 5,000; New Hampshire, 629; New York, 15,000; New Jersey, 7,600; Pennsylvania, 10,000.

Vermont, not one of the thirteen original States, passed laws against slavery while yet a Territory, in 1777, and was admitted as a free State. Maine, also not an original State, was under the government of Massachusetts, and her condition in regard to slavery followed the action of the parent State. New Hampshire, like Massachusetts, had slavery destroyed by a clause in her Constitution. Pennsylvania passed an act in 1780 which forbade the further introduction of slaves, and gave freedom to all that were born in the State after that day. It would seem that the new impulse given to liberty was more effective in Pennsylvania than in any other State. In 1776 she is reported as having 10,000 slaves. Four years later she passed her act for gradual emancipation, and when the first census was taken, in 1790, she had only 3,737 slaves. Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws in 1784. New York passed an act for gradual emancipation in 1799, when she had 20,000 slaves. In 1827 she passed a supplementary act, declaring all her slaves free on the 4th of July of that year. New Jersey followed the example of New York in 1804, but without the supplement. She consequently had slaves later than any other State.

The condition of these States, as to the number of slaves, after acts of emancipation were passed, may be learned from the table below, made up from the United States census:

DECREASE OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.
Connecticut....	2,759	951	310	97	....	....	....
New Hampshire	158	8	....	....	....	....	....
New Jersey....	11,423	12,422	10,851	7,557	2,254	674	236
New York.....	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,088	....	....	....
Pennsylvania..	3,737	1,706	795	211	....	....	....
Rhode Island..	952	381	108	48	110	64	....

Such are the facts developed by this simple history. Clearly they do not sustain the charges of selfishness and greed which are sometimes hurled at the North by heated partisans. Undoubtedly there were cases of fierce opposition and bitter complaint. Undoubtedly there were some who endeavored to make the most of their shattered property, and hurried it off

to a market. There were, we know, cases of merchants who endeavored "to turn an honest penny" by pushing the horrible African slave-trade; but these cases were few, and against the general sentiment of the country. There is nothing more certain in the whole range of history than the fact that slavery at the North was abolished because of the general conviction that it was wrong; that it was contrary to the doctrine of natural right; that it was incompatible with republican institutions; that it could not be reconciled with Christian morals, and was a disgrace to Christian civilization.

It grew up in the North and in the South under nearly the same influences, becoming stronger and stronger as the colonies increased in population and wealth, and rooted itself so deeply in the habits and interests of the people that practical men shrank away from every serious effort to disturb it, till an overwhelming public sentiment demanded that it should be swept away. It was struck with the same death in the North and in the South; but in the South its more vigorous condition and the fertilizing influence of cotton carried it through, and it recovered its former strength and power, and went on to wage war with its deadly enemy—the free public opinion of the nation.

This view does not entirely harmonize with the claims of the antislavery leaders of Massachusetts, some of whom have stoutly maintained that slavery was never legal in that State, and was always adverse to the general sentiment of its people. It has seemed to us that this view is not sustained by the facts current in her history, some of which have been cited in the foregoing pages, and that, aside from the ameliorating influences of Congregationalism, slavery in Massachusetts was not greatly different from slavery in South Carolina.

But if we cannot entirely accept all the strong claims of Mr. Sumner, still less can we accept the distorted pictures drawn by passionate partisans in the South. The editor of this Quarterly in the preceding number noticed an article in the Southern Review, by Rev. J. W. Scott, touching Bishop Andrew and the General Conference of 1844, in which he quotes Mr. Scott as saying: "These men, whose sires had waxed fat on the traffic in human flesh, were now in hot pursuit of Bishop Andrew for the sin of slave-holding," etc. It need hardly be said that this is the language of passion, and

not of criticism. But if such words are to be taken for truth, the question arises as to who the men were that thus "waxed fat." The general tenor of pro-slavery sentiment seems to have been that slave-holding in the North was an unprofitable business, and that slavery died out because it did not pay. Hence it was that Mr. Webster protested against any enactment excluding slavery from certain Territories because it was "re-enacting the law of God." It was not, therefore, the men who were so unfortunate as to hold slaves who "had waxed fat." Indeed, the words used pretty plainly imply that Mr. Scott referred to those who were engaged in the "traffic." But there could be no profitable "traffic" in a commodity that could not be sold and had no market. It was not, therefore, the trade in "human flesh" within the Northern colonies or States on which any body "waxed fat." But there was a "traffic" which was profitable, and in which Northern men, to some extent, participated. In Massachusetts, for instance, with a population of four hundred thousand, there were some gamblers, a few thieves, now and then a murderer, and one or two slave-merchants. These last fitted out their ships in Boston, and sold their cargoes in the West Indies. They took the risks and braved the odium of the "traffic," just as a gambler or a house-breaker braves the law; and because it was a stench in the public nostril and no honorable man would engage in it they had a monopoly and undoubtedly "waxed fat" on their trade in "human flesh." But does the Rev. W. J. Scott mean seriously to maintain that all the men in that General Conference who voted against Bishop Andrew were the sons of these freebooting slave-pirates? If he does not, he had better reconstruct his words.

We have said that slavery in the North was abolished from principle. It was, in fact, struck down by the conscientious convictions of an awakened people, by the overwhelming power of public opinion. In Massachusetts it began to decline from the day that the "writs of assistance" were argued. In Pennsylvania, where the action of the Quakers had prepared the way, manumissions were even more frequent than in Massachusetts. The act for gradual emancipation was not passed without bitter opposition from a strong minority, but the rapid decline that followed shows how strong and general was the

sentiment against it. In New York, under the operations of the act of 1799, the slaves fell off from 20,000 in 1800 to 10,000 in 1820. But the decrease was too slow to meet the popular demand, and the Legislature, in 1827, struck out the balance at a blow. Every-where public sentiment was in favor of the speedy overthrow of the system. The people felt that the action of the States should be consistent with the platform of the nation; and if all men were "created equal," a part should not linger in slavery. If liberty was good for the white man, it was good for the black man; if it was hard to be oppressed by England, it was still harder to be oppressed by a selfish and cruel master; if men had inherent rights as against political power, they had also inherent rights as against individual tyrants. The argument was irresistible, and the heart of every true man beat in unison with his brain.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH LYCEUM.

The Church Lyceum. Its Organization and Management. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop HENRY W. WARREN, D.D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

THE chief design of Methodism was the promotion of the spiritual life; but a movement which was "cradled in a university" could not be indifferent to the mental culture of the people. Its field preaching and its literary institutions have a contemporaneous existence, and both are significant facts in the progress of the great evangelical revival. The Academies, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries of Methodism, established and supported wherever the denomination has obtained a foothold, in Europe and America, in civilized and pagan lands, tell the story of the devotion of this spiritually aggressive Church to the important work of education.

The provision made by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1876, for the organization, on each pastoral charge, of a Church Lyceum "for mental improvement" and for other kindred purposes, is in harmony with the genius and history of the Methodistic movement. The work which we make the text for this article was prepared

to explain the origin, aim, and processes of the Church Lyceum, and to show its possible value to individuals, to the Church, to institutions of learning, and to general society. The book also contains many practical suggestions in regard to methods and collateral work, which will be useful to pastors and others. There is a brief "Introduction" by Reverend Bishop H. W. Warren, which, as might be expected, is pointed and positive. "The Church," says the Bishop, "is the school of all schools, teaching health, cleanliness, temperance, hardihood, wisdom, holiness; that is, perfect manhood." And Mr. Neely affirms that the purpose of the Lyceum "is intellectual, as distinguished from that which is specifically called spiritual;" and, in response to the objection that this looks like an attempt to save the world by culture, he pertinently says, "It is not an effort to save by culture, but to culture the saved, or those who may be saved." The apprehension that the Lyceum may interfere with the regular religious work of the Church has some good ground on which to rest; and the fear will, in some cases, become a fact, if the organization be not kept well in hand by the Quarterly Conference.

There are those who object to this scheme of popular Church education as likely to impart only loose, general information, without accuracy or thoroughness, which will mislead and betray rather than discipline and develop. The objection would have force if it were designed to substitute the Lyceum for the Academy and College, or to make it the end instead of the beginning of an intellectual career. It is probable that an enthusiast in the cause, like Mr. Neely, may expect altogether too much from the Lyceum, and it is certain that it will have to be thoroughly worked to produce the satisfactory results which he contemplates. But we have no question that its influence will be salutary so far as it extends, and that very positive good may be realized. Pope's celebrated couplet,

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing:
> Drink deep, or taste not, the Pierian spring,"

is essentially false. "A little learning" is not "a dangerous thing," if it be *real* learning. If a man thinks that he knows a language because he has mastered its alphabet, or if he is led to believe that 2 + 2=5, or that 5 — 2=4, the results may be

disastrous. The unfortunate outcome is not, however, to be attributed to his knowledge, but to his ignorance. All learning is restricted, to begin with, and the wisest man's acquisitions are inconsiderable compared with the wide domain of knowledge. "A little learning" excites an intense thirst for deeper draughts from "the Pierian spring." It is only absolute ignorance which is content—only bias and perversion which are dangerous. Knowledge is more than accumulation; it is aspiration. It feeds the mind, to be sure, but it also kindles desire. Its greatest benefit is its awakening power. It clears the mental vision, and it widens, at the same time, the circle of observation. What it gives is a prophecy of what it has to bestow. That something, however little, has been actually learned, reveals our possibilities, and demonstrates that to the magic touch of our persistent research every gateway of knowledge will swing open in all the boundless universe of God.

The great necessity, in order to the success of the Church Lyceum, and, indeed, of our whole educational work, is that the ministers and members of our denomination should realize that mental cultivation is manifestly the design of God, and, therefore, unmistakably a Christian duty.

The mental constitution which we possess indicates the Divine will in this regard. The mind is capable of acquiring knowledge, of receiving discipline, and of being enriched by cultivation. It must, therefore, have been the design of God that the powers and faculties of our intellectual natures should be improved by study and trained for usefulness. A being made in the image of God—that is, in some sense, in the similitude of God—is under the highest conceivable obligation to make the most of his endowments, resources, and opportunities, to know and serve his Creator and Benefactor.

The whole process of the great salvation which God has given us is stimulative to the mental faculties. Men must "reason," "consider," "ask," "seek," "strive," "contend," "watch," and "endure," with patient perseverance, in order to obtain the crown of life. The general rule of Gospel acquisition is expressed by the wise man, in the inspired declaration: "If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for

her as for hid treasures; then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord and find the knowledge of God."* The very conditions of God's promises of mercy and grace demand mental activity, and show that it is the Divine will that our intellectual powers be cultivated. We are bound to know God and to be like him—to know ourselves, our relations, duties, and privileges.

The apostolic injunctions, "Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine," and "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth,"† are precepts which concern not only evangelists, but all Christian workers. Every argument in favor of ministerial education applies, if not with equal force, yet as certainly and conclusively, in favor of Christian education. We need, for the greatest prosperity of the Church, cultured men, not only in the pulpit, but also in the pews, in the Sunday-school, in the official bodies, and in all the active relations of life. Can it be doubted, then, that it is the will of God that every follower of the Lord Jesus improve his mental powers to the fullest extent of his opportunities? Ought not a Christian to be, in every particular, the highest style of man? And is it not manifest that He who is the author of mind, as well as heart, may be as truly served with the intellect as with the emotions?

A Christian ought to cultivate his mind, that he may more clearly comprehend the revelations of God, in the material universe, in the government of the world, in the written Word, and in the office and work of the Holy Spirit. Ruskin complained, some years ago, of "the stern impossibility of getting any thing understood that required patience to understand." We need not marvel at this statement, or at its pertinent application to modern society; for "patience to understand" is the ripe fruit of mental discipline and culture. The comprehension of any important truth requires this "patience"—this attitude of persistent, painstaking thought. How many of the most thrilling utterances and powerful appeals and invitations of the pulpit and of the religious press are largely, if not entirely, lost, because the doctrines and sentiments presented are not held before the mind and considered in all their

* Prov. ii, 3–5. † 1 Tim. iv, 13, and 2 Tim. ii, 15.

facts and relations, till the half-inspired, or, it may be, wholly inspired, truth rises into clearness of view!—rises, not like an exhalation, but as a continent emerges from ocean depths and mists, grand and imposing in outline and magnitude.

God has placed us in a universe which is a miracle of beauty and splendor. There are perfections and adaptations and utilities in God's works which our heavenly Father must be pleased to have us observe and admire. "Some years ago," says an English essayist, "in passing through the cells of the Grand Chartreuse, noticing that the window of each apartment looked across the little garden of its inhabitant to the wall of the cell opposite, and commanded no other view, I asked the monk beside me why the window was not rather made on the side of the cell whence it would open to the solemn fields of the Alpine valley. 'We do not come here,' he replied, 'to look at the mountains.'" Such is the monastic spirit; and such teachings may be in harmony with a system which holds that "ignorance is the mother of devotion;" but such was not the strain of the Psalmist when he sung, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all;" nor is this monkish declaration after the manner of Jesus who showed to his disciples, in mountains and seas, in the earth and in the heavens, and even in the grass and flowers of the field, the tokens and signs of the care and love of a wise and merciful Father. There are visions and voices of God in his works and in his providence; but they are a sealed volume to us, except we have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and faculties to understand.

Christianity, moreover, is the religion of a book, of an ancient book, of a Book of books; of a book written in languages which are no longer living languages; of a book which is historic, biographic, dogmatic, narrational, poetic, epistolary, and apocalyptic; of a book which reveals God, announces creation, celebrates redemption, declares human relations, duties, and privileges, discloses a world beyond the grave, and points the way to life and immortality. Is it possible that such a book can be comprehended without research and reflection? Since God has thus revealed his mind and purpose to our race, is it not plainly his will that men should study and understand these sacred Oracles? With a Bible in his hand, can any

Christian fail to discern his obligation to cultivate, to the utmost, all his rational powers?

The Holy Spirit, it may be claimed, is given to enlighten our minds, and to teach us the things of God. But the Holy Spirit never imparts any new truth; he sanctifies us through the Word; he shows the startling significance and appropriate applications of the truth which we have learned, and he brings all essential things to our remembrance. The Holy Spirit, however, does not enrich the barren mind, does not supply the wastes of indolence and inefficiency, and does not honor ignorance and stupidity. And no marvel; for ignorance is the mildew of piety, the source of superstition, and the bane of progress. God honors intelligence, and the industry, self-denial, and perseverance which render it possible, when the knowledge and discipline thus secured are consecrated to Christ and to the work of the world's redemption. "The most devout and useful men," says an eloquent Wesleyan Methodist, "that have ever served the Lord Jesus Christ in our community have been men of sound and varied scholarship." Is it not evident, from all these considerations, that mental culture must be regarded as a Christian duty? and do not nature, Providence, Scripture, and the Holy Spirit unite in demanding its performance?

Mental culture is a condition of wide usefulness, especially in a cultured age, and is, therefore, an unmistakable Christian obligation. There are two conditions of usefulness—*character* and *consecration;* mental culture creates and exalts character, and leads indirectly to consecration; for although mental and moral culture may be divorced, they are naturally allied. "Studies," says Bacon, "serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability." The momentum of a body depends on its weight and velocity; if the former be less, the latter may be more, and so a given result be secured. But it is the special felicity of mental culture that it produces both weight and velocity; or, in other words, it adds to our resources and to our skill in their use. It develops reason, broadens observation, quickens reflection, and intensifies our conceptions of right, duty, and holiness; and so increases the domain and power of conscience. It enables us to discern the proper objects of individual choice, reveals the moral quality of conduct, makes manifest

the attractions of virtue and the repulsiveness of vice, shows the identity of duty and interest, and furnishes powerful motives to rectitude and purity. Prejudice, bigotry, local and sectional animosities, partisan bitterness, antipathies of nations and races, and all wars and persecutions begun and continued in the name of religion, are born of ignorance and depravity. Mental culture, therefore, must combine with Christian principle to produce elevation of mind, breadth of view, regard for intellectual freedom, reverence for individual conscience, and discernment of the great facts of human brotherhood and of our equal relation to our Father in heaven. An increase of light scatters the mists and fogs, and, by revealing, destroys many enormities and crimes. Not only phantoms and ghouls, but specters of sin and shame, not imaginary but real, disappear with the breaking of the morning, and perish in the radiance of the day. Intelligence will secure vigilance, a quick perception of wrong, and earnest endeavors to prevent or to remove it. All the activities of the Church require knowledge and the ripest fruits of culture; in other words, they require discipline, development, and scholarly endowments. It is only through these agencies that great results are accomplished. As Goldwin Smith has said, "Cultivation without force may be impotent, but force without cultivation is blind. Force without cultivation has produced great effects for the time, but only cultivated men have left their mark upon the world."

It needs intelligence to perceive the needs of the Church and of a perishing race; and our clearness of discernment will measure the depth of our emotions, and determine the extent of our activities. Faith in God and in the possibly glorious future of men is essential to sacrifice, and to arduous endeavors; and faith must rest on a sure foundation of knowledge, acquired by study or revelation. The aggregate of information requisite to Christian usefulness demands ceaseless mental operation. The work of the Church is immensely important. It is the growth of the centuries; it is sanctioned by historic examples; it is warranted by the highest reason; it is imposed by the authority of the Almighty; it concerns races and generations; and it contemplates nothing less than the salvation of lost men. Can such a work be successfully

performed without the highest type of training and development? "Restraint of discipline," says Edmund Burke, "emulation, examples of virtue and of justice, form the education of the world." Christian manhood, then, is the great reformatory and evangelizing power—the mightiest factor, next to the immediate agency of the Holy Spirit, for human regeneration. We must not only be Christians, but we must also persuade others to become Christians; and the Gospel, we may be certain, will not be helped by our ignorance and insufficiency. There are opportunities for usefulness, for grand and glorious achievements, which must be forever lost to us, except we have thoroughly trained and cultivated faculties, energized and electrified by the Holy Spirit, with which to engage in evangelical work. The best things can be done in the Master's cause only with the best weapons, polished and perfected in the best manner. "Knowledge shall be increased," is a characteristic of the Millennial Age. It is also said, "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation." Wisdom and knowledge are inseparable in strong and stable Christian character. When they are sundered, only disastrous results follow. Intelligence without piety dethrones God, while piety without intelligence debases man. The one produces infidelity, the other superstition. But piety and intelligence, the fear of God, and the knowledge of the forces and powers of the universe, develop the perfect Christian, and secure the conditions of widest usefulness.

Christian culture, so far as the individual is concerned, means an increase of his capacity, and an increased disposition to employ his powers for the well-being of mankind. For society, it means a growth of all its resources; an increase of wealth; the harmony of diverse interests; capacity to make field, forest, mine, earth, and ocean, the near and the remote, contribute to human sustenance and happiness; a greater strength and glory of manly character; more refined and elegant homes; happier children, nobler youth, a wiser maturity, and a more peaceful and golden old age. For the Church it means a richly furnished ministry and an intelligent and useful membership, a clearer comprehension of the needs of the world and multiplied activities for human redemption.

The religion of the Bible demands culture. Its holy oracles must be explained, its historic records must be examined in the light of a searching criticism, and its sublime dogmas must be upheld despite the antagonisms of a speculative philosophy. The friends and advocates of the Christian system must be prepared to show the relation which the Church sustains to human governments, to the increase of civilization, to the promotion of genuine reforms, and to the progress of the race, in the overthrow, by Gospel agencies, of despotism, idolatry, and all barbarous and degrading practices and institutions. The sword of the Spirit needs to be wielded by skillful hands, and to be directed by cultured brains. The heaviest artillery is demanded for the service of the armies of our King. Every advance of the Church is met by trained, cultured, and liberally endowed foes. Indeed, the bulwarks of sacred truth are constantly and vigorously assailed with every weapon which can be found in the armories of history, science, and philosophy. If the Church does not place in the hands of the on-coming generations all the forces and appliances of Christian culture, infidelity will rear his ghastly throne above the sepulcher of our most cherished hopes, and a wave of barbarism will overflow and desolate all lands with a tide of death.

Mental culture promotes human happiness, and it is the will of God that his creatures should be happy. The joy of the acquisition of knowledge, of the exercise of our highest faculties, and of esthetic discernment in the realms of literature and art, is, unlike the joy of worldly success and of sensual gratifications, a rapture which is akin to the pleasures of beneficence and religion. The richest springs of enjoyment are unsealed and quickened into a perpetual flow by the cultivation of the mind. Indeed, the permanence of mental acquirements, and the constant means of usefulness and happiness which they furnish, are arguments in their favor too weighty to be disregarded. Mental cultivation renders its happy possessor quite independent of external conditions. Without wealth, or place, or power, the mind, enriched by knowledge and trained to activity, has unfailing resources within itself. Whether at home or abroad, in youth or in age, in solitude or in society, such a mind is always in the domain of usefulness and rational enjoyment. The works and won-

ders of God's universe and government, the facts and laws which relate to things and powers, the treasures of the inspired Word and the mysteries of redemption, the realizations of the present and the anticipations of the future—these are the heritage of the mind which has mastered knowledge, acquired discipline, and tasted the sweets of a genuine Christian culture.

As Milton sings:

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute;
> And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

"What are lands and seas and skies to civilized men," inquires New England's greatest orator and statesman, "without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture?" Mental and moral development, as indicated in this extract, are closely allied, and furnish the basis of society and the sources of satisfaction to civilized men. "Where there is no sound reason," says a philosopher, "there can be no real virtue;" that is, in order to virtue, there must be understanding, and the power of intelligent choice. If, then, virtue is necessary to happiness, the relative value of mental culture is obvious. How often do uninstructed Christian men severely suffer from misapprehensions and superstitious fears! They walk, so far as their mental constitution is concerned, "in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart."* They cannot readily distinguish sin from error, transgression from infirmity, or the darkness of guilt from the clouds of ignorance. But mental culture informs the understanding, restrains the passions, enlightens the conscience, disciplines the affections, and harmonizes all our powers and faculties. It delivers us from many a corroding fear, many an ensnaring doubt, and many an artful device of our great adversary. By its present and powerful aid we are often enabled to "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men."†

The work of Christian culture is a work of patriotism, as well as a work of religion. An ignorant people cannot remain

* Eph. iv, 17, 18. † 1 Pet. ii, 15.

a free people. The safety of the nation, and so of all landed and bonded estates, is in the liberal, thorough, and general discipline and development of its citizens. Christian culture, therefore, lies at the very basis of representative government, and of the hopes of the race. It is on the foundation of character in individuals—character produced by culture, in the family, in the Sabbath-school, in the Church Lyceum, in the Seminary, and in the College—that the pillars of empire are reared. "There are many Americans," says Rev. R. W. Dale, in his "Impressions of America," published in the Nineteenth Century, "as there are many Englishmen, who have not yet learned that in claiming the right to govern themselves, they have accepted the responsibility of doing their part toward maintaining a just and wise and vigorous government." An education of all classes in political duties is a necessity of the Republic. It is too much to expect that the secular schools alone can successfully accomplish this work. The pulpit, the Church, the Sunday-school, the mission teacher, the press, the Lyceum, the home, must take part in the grand movement for Christian cultivation. The government will escape its perils if citizens generally are intelligent and virtuous, and realize their solemn responsibilities; but it is a stupendous matter to raise up a nation of sovereigns, capable of acting without passion or prejudice, in the great exigencies of peace and war. It belongs to us as Christians to carry the principles of Christ's kingdom into all the duties and relations of life. The purity of society can be secured in no other way. To apply morals to national concerns, and to secure, through law and its administration, the happiness of mankind, are not only special necessities of our time and land, but they are grand achievements for any people, at any period. The most memorable incidents and epochs in our past history have resulted from the infusion into public affairs of the irrepressible forces of justice, morality, and beneficence—forces which are the product of Christian culture. In other words, they were the golden fruit of mental training and of Christian doctrine and experience.

The great need of the Church is a sanctified scholarship—the consecration to God of mental culture and attainments. Learning is not necessarily the handmaid of piety. Many times it

is the inspiration and support of doubt and disbelief. Particular truths may be so taught as to engender, on the whole, a blighting skepticism. The great facts and laws of the universe may be so combined and presented as to foster naturalism, and to discredit spiritual existence. One may be so blinded by a false system that he can walk through the splendid corridors of creation, and not discern the Creator. At the fountains of Helicon many a youth drinks in the poison of infidelity. In the groves of the Academy he learns a deceptive and corrupting philosophy. He climbs the steeps of Parnassus, but he fails to discern the glory of God shining in the heavens. He listens to Plato and Aristotle, but he hears not the words of Jesus, the Supreme Teacher, "the Prime and Blossom of the race." In all the voices of creation, he discerns not the voice of Him who "spake and it was done," who "commanded and it stood fast." The lessons of history do not teach him the grandest of all lessons—the lesson of a wise, watchful, and eternal providence. Despite all his acquisitions, he is *αθεος*, an *atheist*, "without God in the world." His studies have not brought him into the realm of the highest culture, where the beauty of the Lord is discerned. He has compassed the whole diapason of Nature's scale, but he has not caught the highest note—the note of redemption; he has not listened to the divinest melody—the melody of the heavens.

Not discerning God in human affairs, he is, notwithstanding his accumulations of knowledge, ignorant of the world, incapable of comprehending the drift of things, the currents and courses of the progress of the race, the mighty impulses of redemption in the growth and development of communities and nations. He is not able, therefore, to keep step with the music of the world's march in the realization of its highest ideals. He lacks adaptation to life, and is incapable of conquering a genuine success. He is not a helper to his fellows, but a hinderance and a burden. His doubts cloud the heavens, his fears chill the atmosphere, and his infidel speculations blight and blast every thing beautiful and ennobling in life. So far as his knowledge is power, it is a power of evil. Service to man is not to be expected of him; for he has no worthy conception of the dignity and value of a Christ-redeemed soul.

It is this class of men which bring learning into reproach

Their scholarship is infernal in its prostitution, and their genius is set on fire of hell. In the courts, in Congress, in business, in literature, in art, in every walk of life, high and low, these men scheme mischief, breed corruption, organize rings, debauch morals, and defile, by pretense of favor, patriotism, religion, and all holiest things. Cultured wickedness, in a word, is pre-eminently satanic, as the whole history of civilized man proves. A sirocco is not so blasting, a simoom is not so deadly, a famine is not so fearful, as the wide-spread desolation of infidel thought, presented by trained minds, with the charms of learning, eloquence, and song, employing all the stores of knowledge and all the forces of discipline for the perversion of the truth, the weakening of faith, the degeneration of the race, and the destruction of society.

Now, when rare attainments in science and charming literary gifts are used to discredit the Christian revelation, it is no time to yield to the sway of ignorance, no time to cherish dogmatism or sectarianism, and no time to rail at culture and scholarly research as being inimical to the faith of the Gospel. On the contrary, while we guard ourselves and guard our youth from an insinuating skepticism, we must seek sedulously those fountains of learning which flow fast by the oracles of God. The only sufficient antidote to a skeptical scholarship is a sanctified scholarship. It is the uncultivated and ill-informed whose misguided feet are caught in the meshes of infidelity. If a lack of knowledge suggests doubt, an increase of knowledge will remove it. The more skepticism there is in a community, the more the truth of God, scientific, philosophic, and theologic, needs to be diffused. There is no conflict between science and revelation, and none are so conscious of this truth as those who are familiar with the facts and laws of the natural world, and also with the spiritual domain of faith and experience. More knowledge, more research, more discipline; more humility, more consecration, more power with God in prayer, more comfort of the Holy Spirit—this is the defense, the victory, and the glory of the Christian Church. Good books and periodicals, thoughtful, scientific, devout, must be widely scattered and diligently read and pondered. The Christian man who does not read must be relatively unintelligent, and correspondingly narrowed in his realm of usefulness. An

unreading Church, in a reading age, must go to the very rear rank of moral forces; and it will even be found in opposition to some of the grandest of Christian movements. This *is* a reading age. Infidel books, magazines, newspapers, and tracts, not all of them coarse, vulgar, and repulsive, but many of them learned, polished, and persuasive, and well calculated to deceive and betray, are scattered by the millions throughout this land and in all lands. The most dangerous ideas and sentiments, calculated to subvert and destroy society itself, are thus diffused through communities and nations. This literature is the more dangerous because it is plausible and attractive, tinged with romance and adorned with classical allusions; because it assumes to speak with the wisdom of the schools, claims to interpret the great facts of history, employs the discoveries and conclusions of science and philosophy for its own perverted purposes; teaches doubt by suggestion, and destroys confidence by insinuation; assails the Church in a pretended concern for humanity, impugns religion in the name of reason, and blasphemously denies God because of an affected regard for morality and virtue. What, then, is our remedy and duty? We must print and circulate good books—books which not only flash with the scintillations of genius, but which also throb and glow with the power and fire of the Holy Ghost. We must exalt that system of science and philosophy which casts no disparaging reflections on the Christian doctrines, and indulges in no sneers at the world's Redeemer. We must devote our means and energies to the work of personal improvement, and consecrate our ripest culture on the altars of a Christian civilization. The highest scholarship must be sanctified to God and to the work of human redemption. This is the grandest field which opens to our godly endeavors. From the sanctities of our homes, from the sacred inclosure of our Sunday-schools, from the hallowed places of our Church Lyceums, and from the halls of our Christian colleges, must come forth the daring and enthusiastic *knights of the Cross*, not to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel, but to bring the nations of the earth into the grand symposium of the Gospel.

Two practical conclusions remain to be stated:

1. It is every man's duty to make the most of himself, to seize all opportunities for mental culture and growth, to use

books, papers, lectures, associations, and all kindred facilities for his improvement, to study diligently the Holy Scriptures with an earnest purpose of comprehension and edification, and to pray believingly for the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to sanctify all knowledge and discipline to his growth, development, usefulness, and happiness.

Especially is this the duty of every member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; for the spirit of the denomination, from the inception of the grand movement, has been, first, salvation by faith in Jesus Christ; and, secondly, the best possible culture and development, and the wisest and most practical use of every talent, whether of endowment or opportunity, for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in the earth. Its schools, periodicals, Book Concerns, and educational organizations have precisely this significance. "The higher education of her youth" is an avowed disciplinary object of the Church; and the necessity of seminaries, colleges, and regular educational contributions is recognized and enforced. The "Church Lyceum," a local but important agency, has for its aim "mental improvement," provision for schools and libraries, the dissemination of religious literature, assistance for young men called to the ministry in obtaining an education, and, generally, the fullest ministration which the Church can offer "to the varied nature of man." That particular society exhibits practical wisdom, and will reap a golden harvest, which makes the completest use of these provisions. The youth will be attracted and instructed, the charms of social comminglings will be added to the pleasures of intellectual pursuits, and the paths of learning, like those of holiness, will be directed toward the Zion of God. All will be interested, saved from frivolous and corrupting associations, refined in thought and feeling, and allied by pleasant and profitable intercourse to the Christian Church; and some, without doubt, will be drawn, not only to the house of God, but also to the altar of prayer, will be changed in heart and life, and will

> "by due steps aspire
> To lay their just hands on that golden key
> That opes the palace of eternity."

2. The Church of Christ, which has been the conservator of knowledge in the days of greatest darkness, which saved

ancient learning from founder and wreck in a turbulent sea, which has always gained her surest victories in uplifting and enlightening men, needs now, more than at any period in the past, to ascend every summit of science, to explore every field of knowledge, to speak in every dialect of culture, to use the facts in every domain of learning, to convert every invention and discovery into a resource of power, to rear her battlements on every beetling crag of philosophy, and to fill every realm of art and song with the brightness of her creations and the melody of her sacred hymns.

Art. IV.—SOME HISTORIC PLACES OF METHODISM.

Foremost of these places is Epworth, where the leader of the second Reformation first drew breath. In the flat lands of Lincolnshire, where in winter the eye fell on dreary wastes of water, and in summer ague reigned supreme, stood the poor parish town of Epworth.

The minister was that "rugged and granitic man," Samuel Wesley, who fought hard against poverty within doors and against "the rabble of his parish without." In those days local politics ran high, and Samuel took sides. The other side fought him with weapons of the baser sort, and took full revenge on "the parson." They stabbed his cows, cut off his dog's leg, broke down his doors, drummed under his window at night to ruffle him as he wrote sermons; they stole his grain, burned his flax, and twice set fire to his house. Few men worked harder, few fared harder. But he stood his ground, and when timid friends urged him to give up, he said, "No, 'tis like a coward to desert my post because the enemy fire thick upon me." And so he held on, preached truth boldly, and eked out a scant living by parish rates and the writing of multitudinous, if not immortal, verses, over which thoughts and pen ran so rapidly that a day's work of two hundred lines was an easy task. Thrown into prison for a trifling debt, he lay in confinement three months. But even there he was far less concerned for himself than for his "poor lambs left in the midst of so many wolves." His brave heart did not sink, and

he wrote with spirit, and even humor, to the Archbishop of York, that he expected to do far more good preaching *in his new parish* than in the old one.

To this man of firm nerve and iron will was joined a help-meet ranking foremost among "elect ladies."

Susannah Annesley, the youngest daughter among twenty-five children, in girlhood, in womanhood, in motherhood, in age and feebleness, was a woman such as this world is rarely blessed with. Think of a girl of thirteen examining and settling for herself the points of difference between Churchmen and Dissenters—and, with full knowledge of all her distinguished father had suffered as a Non-conformist, becoming a zealous Churchwoman.

In Epworth parsonage, amid the scenes and sufferings just alluded to, the mother of nineteen children, all blessed with grace of person and rare intellectual gifts, she brought out the rich treasures of her great soul. There is not an aspect of female character in which she is not a model. Cheerful in all fortune, good or ill, following to the grave nine beautiful lambs of her fold, selling her little trinkets and slipping the rings from her fingers to feed and comfort her husband in prison, ordering her household with a precision of Christian rules that tolerated no deviation, leading the minds of her children upward with a patience that amazes all fretful and impatient mothers, she was a living benediction in that humble household.

What a lesson we have in that family scene, when the irritable Samuel asked her, snappishly, "Why do you tell that boy the same thing twenty times over?" "Because," said the wise woman, "nineteen times were not enough." See her holding service in the kitchen for the poor of the parish while her husband is absent, reading the most awakening sermons with sweet, womanly eloquence to the crowd of eager listeners, and gently leading them to the Fountain of Life. Note her answer to her husband's letter of rebuke, when his stupid curate, who could not interest the people, had reported to him that his wife was holding unlawful conventicles: "If you do after all (she had in her letter defended her course unanswerably) think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me you *desire* it, for that will not satisfy my conscience. But send me your positive

command in such full and express terms as may absolve me from all guilt and punishment for neglecting this opportunity of doing good when you and I shall appear before the grand and awful tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ"—words and sentiments worthy of a loyal wife and a Christian woman.

The rarest and richest gifts were bound up in the character of the mother of the Wesleys. Her portraits show a classic beauty of face and form, while dignity, firmness, gentleness, strong common sense, far-seeing sagacity, clear penetration, and intense religious fervor blend and form a model for the study of all who can reverence one of the noblest works of God—a Christian mother. She has been well described as "a queen uncrowned and saintly:"

> "Not perfect, nay, but full of tender wants;
> No angel, but a dearer being, all dipt
> In angelic instincts; breathing Paradise;
> Interpreter between the gods and men
> Who looked all native to her place, and yet
> On tiptoe seemed to touch upon a sphere
> Too great to tread."

The crowning scene in this rare life was reached when it was yielded up in the room fitted up for her by her son John in the old Foundry. As the noble woman felt death draw near, she calmly said, "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a hymn of praise to God."

That old rectory, with its peaked and thatched roof; its mysterious noises from the visits of "Old Jeffrey," as the children called the familiar ghost, which and its pranks Isaac Taylor explains to his own satisfaction, at least, by his conceit of "idiotic creatures" of the spiritual world, "not more intelligent than apes or pigs," which "by some mischance are thrown over their proper limits and disport themselves among things palpable, and go to the extent of their tether in freaks of bootless mischief;" the fire at midnight when John Wesley was six years old, from which he was saved by one man standing on the shoulders of another and dragging him from the window just as the roof crashed in, which scene so impressed itself on the imagination of the thoughtful child that in manhood he kept it ever before him by the motto on his seal: "Is not this a brand plucked from the burning?"

And Epworth church-yard, with its strange and awe-inspiring scenes, what a place it holds in Methodist history! There for eight successive nights John Wesley stood on his father's tomb in the midst of a great multitude and preached with amazing power. "While I was speaking," he says of one occasion, "several dropped down as dead; and among the rest such a cry was heard of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith as almost drowned my voice."

Such was Epworth, never to be forgotten, for it cradled John Wesley, the prince of preachers in modern times, and Charles Wesley, the prince of Christian hymn writers for all time.

London is full of sacred places. In the west rises the mausoleum where rest beneath turret and tower in the aisles and chapels of the venerable pile the bones of kings and nobles, philosophers, poets, and statesmen renowned in English story. In the east stands the gloomy tower where the best and bravest have languished in cell and dungeon and found exit from earth and its sorrows beneath the headsman's ax.

In Smithfield, where thousands now rush daily to the vast meat-market, thousands once gathered around the blazing fires of persecution, while the souls of undaunted witnesses to the true faith ascended in the flames.

The memories that cluster about such shrines can never perish. The light that broke from them in the midst of dense moral darkness can never grow dim. But to me the historic places of Methodism have as rich memories and as strong a light. The achievements in war and peace, of Raleigh and Nelson, of Wellington and Burke, of Peel and Palmerston, all combined have not done for England and for the world what the Wesleys and Methodism have done. For without the reforming, renewing, and restraining power of their preaching on the ignorant and degraded masses of the English people, neither the eloquence of Burke nor the sword of Wellington could have saved that country from the red dragon of the French Revolution.

Near to Smithfield stands the famous old Charter-house to which the loyal Methodist may well make pilgrimage. It was at first, and hence its name, a monastery of the Carthusian monks, and fell, with more than a thousand other such houses of various monkish orders, under the wrath of that royal and

incomparable monster, Henry VIII. It came, by gift or purchase, into the possession of the great house of the Howards, and after varying fortunes was bought by "Thomas Sutton, merchant of London, of the Earl of Suffolk," who founded there his famous school for boys and his asylum for decayed gentlefolks.

A hundred years after the death of Sutton, John Wesley, a frail, delicate boy of ten years, entered as a scholar under the patronage of the great Duke of Buckingham, Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. It was a sad place to thrust such a child into, fresh and untainted from the Epworth family. The gloomy cloisters were still there, "brick-built and grimy with traditions of monks' cells and a ghost-like smell," with an evil fame for small boys and even larger ones, "for did not a prior and five of his monks lie buried in the spot known and dreaded as 'Middle Briers?'" Wesley went in as a gown-boy among a set of urchins described by a chronicler, with perhaps undue latitude, as "well-bred, pleasant, idle, and ignorant," and according to the fashion of the times was soon arrayed in gown-boy's uniform. A sort of jacket, which was waistcoat as well, trousers of dark blue stuff, shirt and socks, and a pair of stout shoes known as "gowsers" completed the Charter-house toilet.

Among the boys of the different houses, and especially among the gown-boys, discipline was left almost wholly to the boys themselves. They regulated the fights, and had a rough time generally. The type of the Charter-house boys was distinctly marked. They had an independence and a distrust of authority that they asserted in more ways than one, and one of these ways was the filching of the meat-ration from the small boys by the big fellows. John Wesley was a victim of this Charter-house etiquette. For five years his food was little more than bread, but he kept his health by faithfully obeying his father's command to race every morning three times around the garden.

There is a tradition that yet lingers, to the effect that Wesley, though a quick boy and well advanced in his studies, always consorted with smaller boys and inferior classes, and would often harangue them with juvenile eloquence. One of the masters, breaking in one day upon such a scene, called the

young orator into his room and asked him why he did not company with boys larger and more advanced, to which, as the story runs, the youngster replied: "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven." If Wesley was an ambitious boy never was ambition more wisely or grandly directed than when his richly gifted soul came fully under the power of divine grace. He bore his hardships bravely, loved the old school-house, and in after life made it an annual visit and strolled through its courts and grounds.

One quiet morning I left the crowded street and turned into the narrow way leading to this memorable place. It had been the abode of England's greatest nobles, and for a time of royalty itself, for the usher showed the room in which "good Queen Bess" had been entertained, with its high and curiously carved mantel, and walls still covered with rich but faded tapestry bearing quaint devices of the olden time, and the very spot at the head of the great stairs where the Duke of Norfolk was arrested as he came out of his dining hall. I saw the decayed gentlemen pensioners in their long cloth cloaks filing out of the chapel after daily prayers, and the tablets to the memory of Charter-house boys who had won renown in field and forum. But none of these interested me so much as the places that recalled "Jacky Wesley." There was the indentical dining-room, dark and low-pitched, with the oak table in the center, and the hard benches on which the gown-boys sat, and so high that the legs of a ten-year-old would dangle far above the floor. There were the long corridors, brick-paved, up and down which the boys ran for exercise in rainy weather, and the square plot of ground, rich in English grass, around which little Wesley ran three times every morning.

From the Charter-house boys sprang a noble race of men. The names of Thackeray, Havelock, Ellenborough, Grote, Thirlwall, and a host of others fill high niches in the temple of fame, but there is no name more revered or oftener written and sounded throughout the world than the name of the Charter-house boy, John Wesley.

As Methodism was born at Oxford, that quaint old university town must be set down as one of the most noted of its historic places. At seventeen Wesley escaped from the ruffianism of the Charter-house and entered the "aristocratic,

fashionable, and luxurious Christ Church College." The morals of Oxford were by no means above the average of the times. All manner of dissipation prevailed in the colleges, among which drinking and gambling were looked upon as least disgraceful. In the midst of these scenes Wesley appeared, and is described by an old chronicler as a "very sensible and acute collegian, a young fellow of the finest classical taste and manly sentiments." But could he have withstood for five years the corrupting influence and example of Oxford college life except for the re-enforcement he received from the letters of his admirable mother? He of all her children seemed nearer to her heart from the night of his rescue from the fire. Not long after that event she wrote in her diary: "I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child that Thou hast so mercifully provided for than I have ever been; that I may endeavor to instill into his mind the principles of thy true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success." Was ever maternal prayer more fully answered!

Though greatly modernized, Oxford is yet full of Methodistic memories. There is the stately and venerable Christ Church College, with its great dining hall hung around with portraits of distinguished graduates; there are the walks and fields and rich meadows with grand old trees, over which the students roamed, and in one of which "a Mr. Barnesby and two other students," as John wrote to his mother, "had seen a ghost, and learned, a short time after, that at that very hour Mr. Barnesby's mother had died in Ireland"—concerning which and kindred ghosts stories his very sensible mother wrote him: "that as to these ghosts, if they would speak to us and instruct us to avoid danger, or put us in the way of being wiser and better, there would be sense in it, but to appear for no end that we know of, unless to frighten people out of their wits, seems altogether unreasonable!"

There is old Lincoln College quadrangle, with Wesley's room on the right, second floor, the more memorable because the Holy Club met there to pray and plan for work. Old Bocardo was the gloomy prison over the town gate-way, where they spent three hours every week in comforting and instructing the hapless creatures that languished and often died there

for want of means to pay debts of a few shillings. It had been made famous as the place from which Archbishop Cranmer was led to his martyrdom of fire. Not far off was the tower of St. Michael, to the top of which he was led that his soul might be shaken by seeing the burning of Latimer and Ridley; but, instead of this, we may well believe that it was fortified by the shout of Latimer to his fellow-martyr: "Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light up such a candle, by God's grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." And there was old St. Mary's, into which Cranmer was brought to repeat his recantation on the way to the stake; and beyond was the pile of fagots, and the fire into which when he reached it the noble martyr thrust his hand, saying: "This was the hand that wrote it, therefore it shall suffer first punishment;" and, holding it steadily in the flames, he never stirred nor cried till life was gone."

These were memories to inspire the little band known and ridiculed as "The Holy Club." And out of that club of strange elements what a power emerged to shake the world! There was in it a triumvirate that has not since been equaled for heroic daring and triumphant success—John Wesley, Charles Wesley, George Whitefield! What three other names represent in modern times so much moral power?

Born in poverty, battling with evils on all sides, they steadily rose and lifted thousands with them to the grandest heights of Christian experience. But not without passing under the yoke. They fasted, they prayed; they went into wretched prisons; they read all books that laid open the human heart and told of the need of Christ and a new life. "The Whole Duty of Man," "The Imitation of Christ," "The Serious Call," "Holy Living and Dying," they pondered over night and day with intense and painful concern. What bitter things they set down against themselves! Hear the poor tapster boy from the "Bell Inn," George Whitefield, as he cries out, like John Bunyan, "If I trace myself from my cradle to my manhood I can see nothing in me but a fitness to be damned;" and yet, while serving as tapster at the "Bell," he was dreaming of being a parson, praying and reading his Bible far into the night, and longing to go to Oxford to study for the ministry. And after he got to Oxford, what battles he had with his own

flesh and with the devil! He reminds us of Luther in his monkish cell. For hours Whitefield would lie upon the floor of his study, with arms extended in the form of a cross, groaning in agony of prayer. He would stand shivering in the cold till his flesh was almost black. He lived on bread and sage-tea without sugar, wore the shabbiest clothes, neglected his hair, prayed under the trees for hours at a time on stormy nights, which were the more welcome as they gave him awful thoughts of the day of judgment. By these and other penances he wore his body down till he could scarce creep up stairs to his room. After a year of such "unspeakable pressure of body and mind, God," he says, "was pleased to set me free." "I know the place," he exclaims, exultingly; "it may be superstition, but whenever I go to Oxford I cannot help running to the spot where Jesus Christ first revealed himself to me and gave me a new birth." The poor tapster boy had fought his way manfully to the celestial city; the Wesleys did not reach it till years of toil and sorrow had passed over them in the Old and the New World.

Let us return from Oxford to London. My venerable friend, Dr. M'Ferrin, will not soon forget a long trudge we took together in that vast city one afternoon in search of a little mission-room in the old Shaftesbury mansion in Aldersgate Street, where we were to meet a company at a "tea," and help to plan for church extension in that part of the city—nor, indeed, the good joke we had on a high dignitary of English Methodism, whom we met looking for the same place, when we told him to come on and we would show him one of his own mission-rooms, if we were Americans, and three thousand miles from home.

Within a hundred yards of where we sat that afternoon John Wesley was converted. No place in England interested me more. I had preached in the mission-room the Sunday previous, and referring to that memorable scene at the close of the sermon, expressed my surprise and regret that the precise locality had not been discovered. At the close of the service a gentleman met me as I was leaving the house and said the locality was known, though the house in which the meeting was held could not be identified, and politely offered to conduct me to the spot. I accepted his offer. We passed down

Aldersgate Street for fifty yards and turned into a narrow alley on the left that led us for some distance between tall business houses, and at length opened into a sort of court; from this we turned sharp to the right, advanced twenty yards, and again turned to the right. We were now in a very narrow court with old-fashioned two-story brick houses on either hand. They had two small rooms below, two above, and were occupied by laboring people. "Here," said the guide, "in one of these rooms John Wesley was converted." Yes, I thought, and thirteen years after he had been ordained a minister of the Church of England. My curiosity prompted me to peer in at the windows as I went by the houses, wondering in which of them that famous meeting was held. The few poor women I saw looked like washer-women, and shrunk away from my gaze into the recesses of their shabby dwellings.

On February 1, 1738, John Wesley landed in England on his return from America. It was nearly four months after before he found peace. This period was spent in great searchings of heart, and in free conversations with Peter Böhler, "whom," says Wesley, "God prepared for me as soon as I came to London."

The day ever memorable as the spiritual birthday of John Wesley was Wednesday, May 24, 1738. He had "continued to seek," he says, "with strange indifference, dullness, and coldness, and unusually frequent relapses into sin," until this day. At five o'clock he opened his Testament on these words, "There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature." Just before he went out of the house he opened again on the words, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." In the afternoon he was at St. Paul's. The anthem was, "Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord." He was being made ready for the long-sought blessing. In the evening he went "very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street"—that is, to the little court near this street as I have described it. "One was reading"—who he was we know not—"Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans." The reading over, the leader at "about a quarter before nine was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ," when the quiet little man who sat listening with profound interest "felt his heart

strangely warmed." Let his own record stand forever as a testimony to the grace of the Lord Jesus: "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given to me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." What did converted Wesley do? Shout? No, he did better than that. "I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more special manner despitefully used me and persecuted me." What next did he? "I then testified openly to all them what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested 'this cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation, but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those that have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth, them according to the counsels of his own will."

While John Wesley was happily converted in a small room in the blind alley, Charles lay sick of pleurisy not far off in the house of a poor man in the street called then and still known as "Little Britain." It is strong proof of the sincerity of the Wesleys that, full of learning as they were, they willingly sat at the feet of the humblest to learn the way of salvation. In a letter preserved by Dr. Adam Clarke in his "Memoirs of the Wesley Family," from a Mrs. Hutton to Samuel Wesley, Jr., complaining of the strange conduct of his brother, that lady says: "Mr. Charles went from my son's, where he lay ill for some time, and would not come to our house, where I offered him the choice of two of my best rooms; but he would accept neither, but chose to go to a poor brazier's in Little Britain that the brazier might help him forward in his conversion, which was completed on May 22, as his brother John was praying." It was very kind in the good Churchwoman to offer him the choice rooms, but he wanted more than pleasant lodgings for the body; he wanted rest for his soul and help forward in the work of conversion—this she could not give, so he went to "Mr. Bray's, the brazier." This historic place has been swept away by the march of improvements. It stood at the end of Little Britain street, and directly opposite the famous "Bluecoat School." A square below, toward Aldersgate Street, is a small ancient building which that accomplished

Methodist antiquarian, George John Stevenson, of London, assured me was almost an exact counterpart of Mr. Bray's house. I scanned it closely more than once with deep interest. There were only three rooms, the front shop-room, the back living-room, and one upper room. Imagine the earnestness of Charles Wesley in seeking the way of life when, still weak from a severe pleurisy, he declines the comforts of Mrs. Hutton's best apartments, and takes the little room over the shop, with the braziers hammering below, and willing to endure all if he could only be helped forward in his conversion.

On Whitsunday, three days before his own conversion, John had prayed in the little room with his sick brother, and in the midst of the prayer the prisoner was released. Near ten o'clock the next Wednesday evening, a troop of friends took John down Aldersgate Street and up Little Britain to Charles' room, where they "sang a hymn and prayed, and parted praising God." The spot where once stood the humbled house of Mr. Bray was more to me in its blessed memories than the great school of King Edward opposite in its stately grandeur.

In the first period of the Methodist movement the prominent leaders were John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and that noble and elect lady, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. With these we may well name the famous and devout Moravian, Count Zinzendorf. The spirit of each of these great workers seems to linger still around the places in London made sacred by personal toil and sacrifice. Old Fetter Lane—the Moravian chapel remains very nearly as it was internally when those wondrous love-feasts were held in it. I sought it out as a pilgrim would seek a shrine. The yard that once stretched from the chapel front to the street has been long covered with modern buildings, but "the brethren" seem to hold the ancient house as a most sacred place, and have not altered it in the least, except to lower a little the high box pulpit. The very seats of plain boards are there on which the saints of a century gone sat when the baptism of fire fell upon them. Here in this very room was held the watch-night meeting that Wesley refers to in his journal: "About three in the morning, as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many

cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground." Here were held those strange meetings by a class of good but deluded people who preached "a new commandment called '*stillness*,' which repealed all God's commandments and gave a full indulgence to corrupt human nature." Wesley thus describes one of them: "In the evening our society met, cold, weary, heartless, dead. For two hours they looked one at another. The first hour passed in dumb show, the next in trifles not worth naming." Here Wesley, who opposed their wild doctrines, was expelled from the pulpit, and here in the love-feast five days after he read from a paper the errors into which he believed they had fallen, and at the conclusion said: "You that are of the same judgment follow me." Eighteen followed him, and the next day at the Foundry the Methodist society was formed.

The Foundry! What memories linger around the spot where it stood! What a busy hive, what a center of power it was in the heroic days! Within a hundred yards of City Road Chapel, where the Ecumenical Conference sat for two weeks, is the site of the original London fortress of Methodism—and yet, possibly, scores of the American delegates passed daily without knowing the facts.

A hundred and fifty years ago that part of London was little more than a common. A great highway, now City Road, led out into the country through Moorfields, a sort of park where people of the middle and lower classes sought recreation and amusement in all the sports of the day. On the right of this road and fifty yards distant was a gentle rise called Windmill Hill, now Windmill Street. On the summit stood a large irregular pile of half-ruined buildings. Wesley describes it as a "vast, uncouth heap of ruins." It was long used as a cannon foundry, but on account of an explosion, in which many lives were lost, had been unused for nearly twenty years. In this "uncouth heap of ruins" Wesley planted his Gospel battery and began a cannonade that soon shook the kingdom. He preached his first sermon at eight o'clock in the morning to five thousand hearers; at five in the afternoon he preached again to eight thousand. He was urged to buy the place, and did so by the help of generous friends. Let us look at the Foundry refitted for the warrior, John Wesley, and his

thundering legion after the attempt to recast Marlborough's cannon had shaken it to pieces.

It had a front of 120 feet and a depth of 100. The main audience-room would hold 1,500 people. There were no pews, only the plainest sort of seats. Just in front of the pulpit were a dozen of these for the devout sisters; under the front gallery were free seats for women, under the side galleries for men. The front gallery was exclusively for women, the side galleries for men. The sexes sat apart rigidly, "as they did," says Wesley, "in the primitive Church." "None were suffered to call any place their own, but the first comers sat down first." The benches for rich and poor were exactly alike. The form of worship was this: Wesley began service with a short prayer, then a hymn was sung, then the sermon, usually about half an hour long; then followed another hymn, and the service closed with prayer.

The next largest apartment was the Band-room. It was in the rear of the chapel, eighty feet long and twenty wide. Here the five o'clock services were held, wonderful in power, to which the zealous Methodists came trudging through the mud by the dim light of lanterns before the dawn. In this room the classes met, and at two o'clock on Wednesdays and Fridays the prayer-meetings were held here. At one end of this long, narrow room a school was conducted; at the opposite end was the Book Room, germ of the mammoth Book Concerns and Publishing Houses of the present day. Over this room were Wesley's private apartments, and here his venerable mother spent her declining years, a matronly queen supporting her sons by her counsel and prayers in the great work that daily widened before them. At the end of the chapel room was a house for assistant preachers and domestics, while the whole establishment was completed by a coach-house and stables.

"Honest Silas Told," as Wesley calls him, who was converted from a swearing sailor's life to that of a saint, was the first teacher at the Foundry, and he taught from five in the morning till five in the evening at a salary of ten shillings a week. He has left us a picture of the place when he set up school in it. "A ruinous place it was, with an old pantile covering, consisting mainly of decayed timbers, with a pulpit made of a few rough boards." It was one of Wesley's five-o'clock sermons

on the text, "I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me," that the converted sailor felt moved to take upon himself that amazing work among the wretched criminals of Newgate and other prisons that gained him the noble title of the Good Samaritan of London. For thirty years he worked day and night among the most miserable and degraded of mankind, and when Wesley buried him he entered in his journal this uncommon eulogy: "I buried all that was mortal of honest Silas Told. For many years he attended the malefactors in Newgate, without fee or reward, and I suppose no man for this hundred years has been so successful in that melancholy office."

The displays of divine power in the Foundry in early times, and at the open-air services in Moorfields, near-by, almost exceed belief at the present day. Twenty thousand people was an ordinary Moorfields congregation for Whitefield and Wesley. The singing could be heard two miles away, and the voice of Whitefield, when at his best, fully a mile. Around him coaches, wagons, scaffolds, and other contrivances by the hundred were let to those of means who were anxious to hear the great preacher. One memorable Easter service in this place was the grand occasion of his life as a field-preacher. It was the custom in the holiday season to erect booths in Moorfields for all sorts of mountebanks, players, and puppet shows; and from early morn till late at night the place was filled with thousands of the lower sort of people. Whitefield determined to make one of these festive seasons a grand Gospel field-day. On Whitmonday, at six in the morning, attended by a large band of praying people, he ventured out among the multitudes gaping for their usual diversions. His text was well suited for the occasion: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." In the early still morning all was hushed and solemn. The people gazed with awe upon the impassioned preacher; they wept and were stung with deep conviction. He ventured out again at noon, when the fields were filled with motley crowds, and the shows were in full blast. As soon as they saw him mount the stand the people left the Merry Andrews and crowded by thousands around him. In the evening he renewed the battle, and then came the real tug of war. When he had mounted the pulpit twenty or thirty thousand flocked around

him. He soon became a target for rude fellows. Dirt, dead cats, stones, decayed vegetables, rotten eggs, were hurled at him. A brawny showman, mounted on the shoulders of a comrade, tried to slash him with a heavy whip. A recruiting sergeant forced his way through the dense crowd near the stand furiously beating a drum. But preacher and hearers held their ground. The little boys and girls that stood near him served as pages to pass up the notes for prayer that the people handed in; "and though," says Whitefield, "they were pelted with eggs and dirt thrown at me, never once gave way, but on the contrary every time I was struck turned up their little weeping eyes and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me." They fought the battle against the rabble for three solid hours, preaching, praying, singing, and exhorting the whole time. They then drew off their forces to the Tabernacle, where Whitefield drew from his pocket a thousand notes from convicted sinners asking their prayers. As the substantial fruits of this day's work three hundred were taken into the Church in one day, nearly all of the lower classes, "brands plucked from the burning."

The power which attended the sermons of Wesley, delivered usually in calm but fervid tones, was amazing. In a moment men and women would drop down without any strength and cry out with violent pain. "Some said they felt as if a sword was running through them; others as if a great weight lay upon them, and would crush them into the earth; others felt a choking sensation and could scarcely breathe; others as if their hearts were swelling in them ready to burst; others as if their whole body was tearing all to pieces." Of these strange scenes Wesley says: "These symptoms I can no more ascribe to natural causes than to the Spirit of God. I can make no doubt but it was Satan tearing them as they were coming to Christ; and hence proceeded those grievous cries whereby he might design both to discredit the work of God and affright people from hearing that word whereby their souls might be saved." A scene of this sort occurred in the Foundry while Wesley was expounding the 12th of Acts. A young man rushed into the room cursing and swearing vehemently. The disturbance was great and the intruder had to be put out by force. But Wesley called to them, "Let him come in that our Lord may

bid his chains fall off." He returned at the close of the sermon, confessed himself to be a disguised smuggler on his way to his unlawful work, and vowed that he would seek God. Wesley certainly believed the devil to be a terrible personality. The places of early Methodism were not only marked by wonderful revival scenes, but also by stern and unrelenting discipline on incorrigible offenders against Society rules. Look at this record: "Sixty-four were expelled: two for cursing and swearing; two for habitual Sabbath-breaking; seventeen for drunkenness; two for retailing spirituous liquors; three for quarreling and brawling; one for beating his wife; three for habitual Sabbath-breaking; four for railing and evil speaking; nine-and-twenty for lightness and carelessness; and one for idleness and laziness." If we should begin to thin out in these days on such lines, especially the two last named, what a vast reduction we should have in the numbers of modern Methodism!

The centers from which the great evangelists thundered against sin were, for Wesley, the Foundry; for Whitefield, Tottenham Chapel, and for Lady Huntingdon, besides her West End residence, her Spafield's Chapel among poor watchmakers and other artisans. Tottenham Chapel stands yet, though somewhat modernized. It was called in derision "Whitefield's soul-trap." Hundreds were turned away on Sunday mornings for want even of standing room. People of rank and of every profession crowded to hear the wonderful preacher. Even Hume, the infidel, could not withstand the desire to hear him. To a friend who asked his opinion of Whitefield he said: "Sir, he is the most ingenious preacher I ever heard. It is worth while to go twenty miles to hear him." He then actually repeated the following passage from one of his grand perorations: "After a solemn pause, Mr. Whitefield thus addressed his numerous auditory: 'The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner among all this multitude reclaimed from the error of his ways!' To give the greater effect to this exclamation, he stamped with his foot, lifted his hands and eyes to heaven, and with gushing tears cried aloud, 'stop, Gabriel! stop, Gabriel! ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry

with you the news of one sinner converted to God!' He then, in the most simple but energetic language, described what he called a Saviour's dying love to sinful man, so that almost the whole assembly melted into tears. This address was accompanied with such animated yet natural action that it surpassed any thing I ever saw or heard in any other preacher."

But, unhappily for the cold, infidel philosopher, he heard and received all only as the word of man. Even the play-actors went to hear this master of eloquence and to study his tones and action. The Tabernacle is there still; the great city has stretched to and far beyond it, covering all the once vacant fields; but the memories can never die. Alone one day I walked through its aisles, ascended the pulpit whence the thunder-bolts of truth were hurled amid the cowering thousands that packed the spacious house from door to pulpit-stairs and all the wide galleries. I went into the vestry where in marble and from canvass the full round face of the great revivalist looks upon you; sat in his spacious arm-chair, and sought to catch somewhat of the seraphic spirit that bore him triumphantly across oceans and continents as a mighty herald of the everlasting kingdom. Surely the bones of Whitefield ought to rest near or beneath the Tabernacle, as do those of his great compeer near City Road Chapel. But it is well that his dust rests in the soil of the New World, for he was as much the apostle of America as he was of England. From New England to Georgia he swept as a flame of celestial brightness, kindling holy fires which are destined to burn on forever. The man who preached 18,000 sermons, more than ten a week, for the thirty-four years of his ministerial life, who ten times crossed the stormy North Atlantic in slow sailing-vessels, who so impressed the infidel Hume that he thought it worth a man's while to go twenty miles to hear him preach, who so stirred such a nature as Franklin's by his appeals for his orphan house as to empty his pockets of the last coin when the philosopher had predetermined not to give a copper—such a man can never perish out of the heart of God's people.

From the London throne of Whitefield I went to the humble chapel where that holy woman, Lady Huntingdon, scattered the richest blessings among the wretched poor of the great city. Just as I reached the door of a house next to the

quaint-looking chapel an elderly man of benignant face was coming out. On telling him my mission he courteously informed me that he was the minister in charge, and at once conducted me to his parlor. We sat and talked of the countess and her work in the very room in which she had held counsel with the leaders of the Calvinistic branch of Methodism. The chapel is a circular building, and the arrangement of every thing is very nearly as the countess had it in her day. A private passage led from the dwelling into the chapel by which she always entered, and there may still be seen the large square pew occupied by her ladyship and her special guests. "The countess died here," said the minister, and not at her costly West End residence; would you like to see the room in which she died? follow me and I will show it you." We passed out of the parlor into a narrow passage; he opened a door on the right, and we entered a small room not more than twelve feet square. "Here," he said, "that noble woman ended her great life-work in her eighty-fourth year. Truly the death scene in that little room, amid its squalid surroundings, was sublime. Weary and worn the saintly woman awaited the word of release. When a blood-vessel broke, as soon as speech returned, she said: "I am well, all is well—well forever. Wherever I turn my eyes I see nothing but victory. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh. My soul is filled with glory. I am in the element of heaven itself. I am encircled in the arms of love and mercy. I long to be at home." Just before the golden gates opened she exclaimed: "I shall go to my Father this night;" and the last words were, "My work is done, I have nothing to do but to go to my Father." Such were the words that had filled the little one-windowed room from which the soul of this "elect lady" ascended to a mansion not made with hands.

But of all places in London to which the thoughts and affections of Methodists turn, City Road Chapel, its preacher's homes, and the little burying-ground in the rear of the chapel, are the most noted. Here Wesley established his head-quarters when compelled to give up the lease of the Foundry. The place and its surroundings are historic. Directly opposite is Bunhill Fields, made sacred by the dust of thousands of heroic Non-conformists. There lie the remains of Bunyan, Isaac

Watts, Susanna Wesley, Daniel De Foe, Henry Cromwell, the notorious John Wilkes, and a long line of others renowned in English annals.

On either side of the chapel stands a modest three-story brick house for the use of the circuit preachers. That on the right is known as Wesley's house. He occupied the suite of plain rooms on the second floor, consisting of a small front room used as a parlor; back of this was his bedroom, not more than 12x14 feet, and beyond this a narrow room, 6x10 feet, used as a study. A few pieces of his furniture are in the rooms, sacredly preserved; among these is his arm-chair, used during the Ecumenical Conference by the presidents of that body, a little writing-table and a book-case with paneled doors, on the inside of which may be seen the engraved faces of some of his leading preachers, such as adorned the pages of the old Methodist Magazine, pasted there by Wesley's own hands. In this book-case is kept the huge china tea-pot, a present to Wesley from the celebrated Wedgewood, in which tea was made for the Sunday breakfast of the preachers whenever a large company of them met there, as they often did—never for Wesley himself, as he was no tea-drinker. In these modest little rooms Wesley showed in the smallest matters that love of order and neatness that so strongly marked his character.

In his chamber and study not a book nor a scrap of paper was ever allowed to be out of place. He was always ready to move, and lived like a man who had only an hour to stay in one place. Beyond any man of his day he knew the value of small things, and so caught them up and bound each in its proper place as to build a system of aggressive spiritual warfare second to none in the history of the world.

If a man may be remembered by germinal plans of benevolence that come to him as inspirations from heaven as he stands on higher summits and gazes farther into the future than others of his times, then will John Wesley and his works live forever in the memory of mankind. Cheap literature is the boast of this age, but Wesley wrote for the million a hundred years ago; we boast of our dispensaries that give free medicine to the sick and helpless poor, but Wesley had a dispensary in the old Foundry, and actually studied medicine that he might prescribe for body as well as soul. What a grand

institution the Sunday-school is! But Wesley had such schools in Savannah; Miss Ball, a Methodist, held them at High Wycomb, in England, long before Raikes opened his school at Gloucester, and even to him the idea was suggested by a Methodist girl.

Though once despised and ridiculed, John Wesley is now recognized as in the front rank of the great benefactors of mankind. And so, when the pilgrim tires of looking at the lowly historic places of Methodism, he may rest him in Westminster Abbey, and thank God that the life-work of the Wesleys is now deemed worthy of record in monumental marble in the national mausoleum among England's noblest sons.

Art. V. — SUPPORT OF CONFERENCE CLAIMANTS.

The proper support of an itinerant ministry, called of God to the exclusive work of preaching the Gospel, is one of the most important problems of our Methodist economy. To secure the best results, the preachers must be free from all care except that of soul-saving. When the people detect the outcroppings of a secular spirit in the pulpit, they become jealous and mistrustful. Pastors who seem to doubt the willingness or ability of their flock to provide the necessary sustenance are sure to suffer loss, even in the meager allowances originally offered. Our ministers cannot supplement their salaries by engaging in any secular pursuits without being suspected of neglecting the chief of all concerns, the redemption of human souls. However, if the preachers are to be preserved from temptations to secularity, it is plain that the Church must remove all occasions of fear that an adequate living will not be furnished when conscientious and competent service has been rendered.

It may be comparatively easy to command a fair living for a pastor and his family while he is vigorous in health and efficient in service. So long as he can maintain the interests of a charge—in our system always so dependent on the minister's work—he is reasonably sure of some kind of temporal support; but by and by his power of acceptability wanes, and there

no more reliable prognostic of his decline than that which is indicated in the increasing deficiencies on the annual claim. While others increase he must decrease, and soon, too often, "lost to sight and to memory dear," he must pine in neglect for material and social enjoyments and necessities. Such a prospect does not inspire the self-sacrificing toiler with either confidence or encouragement. The members of our traveling connection are required to submit themselves to episcopal authority; to go where sent; to remove their family where appointed, thereby losing all opportunity of local accumulations; and to accept the risks of ill-health, poverty, lack of appreciation, and all other disadvantages of a systematic itinerancy. Had the heroic apostle chosen his own appointment, according to the plan of call and contract, he could demand no expression of sympathy or proffer of aid from a connectional source when the inevitable superannuation should arrive. He must take his chances when "no man hath hired" him, but he who waives his immediate interest for the permanent commonweal, is certainly entitled to constant recognition and equitable compensation.

Our care for the Conference claimant has seemed to smack more of sentiment than of principle. We have, too often, apparently regarded the support of the superannuated preachers and the ministerial widows and orphans as a benevolence rather than as a claim. Quite frequently the younger ministers give but little attention to the matter, while those on the ragged edge of retirement set up a whine. The solicitude of the older preachers would strike us as very unbecoming if actual penury did not stare them in the face. The amounts reported to the Annual Conferences by the active and promising are in many instances lamentably small, while the returns of those advanced, or advancing, in years are often largely out of proportion with the regular benevolent collections. This condition of affairs is a source of embarrassment and shame. The system which characterizes our effort in other directions must be practical and reliable in the permanent support of the ministry.

It must be conceded that, if a man sacrifice his hope of worldly gain for the care of souls, he is entitled to a fair living until God removes him from the earth, or until he forfeits his

claim by immorality or demerit. A faithful minister should be made to understand that, if he devotes himself wholly to the work of the Church, he may relieve his mind from consuming anxieties in regard to the bread that perisheth. "Bread shall be given him; his water shall be sure." It is a wise economy for the Church to command the undivided attention of one called to the work of the ministry and pre-eminently successful in winning souls, while others who excel in temporal pursuits contribute a portion of their gains to the maintenance of the Lord's chosen evangelist. Every man to his work. Money-getting may be a part of Gospel effort, and the Lord has some of his servants engaged in this duty; but let the priests remain at the altar, lest they attempt that for which they are unfitted, and to which they were never appointed.

Exclusive devotion to the work of the ministry may henceforth disqualify a preacher for most, if not all, of the secular vocations. By long continuance in the pastorate, he has been weaned from the tastes and adaptations of a life which is financially remunerative. Even if he were physically able for the task, and by nature inclined to it, he would find that the commercial world in the last quarter of a century had gone ahead of him, so that he could make but a very low score in the race for wealth. His time, if profitably employed, must be devoted still to matters more or less ecclesiastical. Though he is no longer able for pastoral duty, his usefulness as a laborer in the vineyard is not at an end. He may yet render valuable assistance in revival efforts, occasional preaching, writing or selling books, distributing tracts, or visiting from house to house. Leisure hours may be advantageously occupied with such bodily exercises as will return a small profit; but from all of these a competent support cannot be obtained. His efforts must be subsidized by the special offerings of the Church.

The preacher's family is a recognized force in Methodism. The wife is expected to be a prominent factor in social and religious life, and must devote much of her time and energy in visiting the sick and well, and in attendance on all public services. Withal, there are the children, usually in considerable numbers, who add to the influence, power, and sympathy of the pastor. On the circuits especially his visits are hardly counted as such unless he is attended by the entire household.

Large families in the ministry have tended to develop the liberality of the Church, and therefore have been an important missionary agency. Many charges would never have grown into the habit of giving a respectable salary had they not been compelled first to do so from an acknowledgment of the needs of a numerous household thrown upon them for a support which they dared not repudiate. The children of a minister can do very little toward their own maintenance. Their father's occupation is such that he cannot accompany or instruct them in lucrative employments. His is a work that none other can do. Wife and children, by indiscretions and improprieties, may prevent the collection of the full claim, but they cannot, except in an indirect way, bring anything more than what salary commands for the larder or wardrobe. Frequent removals interfere with profitable investments in real estate for future use. If the head of the house is taken away before some, at least, have reached adult age, dependency, if not destitution, follows. Against such a painful emergency it is the duty of the Church to provide.

Inasmuch as individuality, both in ministers and societies, is to a very great extent merged in the connectional idea of Episcopal Methodism, the responsibility for the perpetual support of accredited itinerants and their needy families is thereby centralized. In a limited sense, all must fare alike, both "he that goeth down to the battle, and he that tarrieth by the stuff." By this reasoning, the worn-out veteran is as justly entitled to his stipend as the younger minister in the tenth or fifteenth year of his extending work and usefulness. The widow and orphan have claims that demand a hearing fully as much as the wife and daughter of the still living itinerant. The Discipline recognizes the correct theory in providing for statistical and Quarterly Conference blanks which call for the reports of the Conference claimants' collections under the head of "Support of the Ministry." A few years ago the Bishops' fund was treated by some as a benevolence, but all now admit the propriety of dividends for this purpose from collections for the ministry in general. The symmetry will be complete when the rightful share of the so-called Conference claimants is included in the scheme of distribution. Such an arrangement may be liable to gross abuse, or, from the added

machinery, cause the entire scheme of ministerial sustentation to fall in pieces of its own weight; but the suggestion of the plan is worthy of some attention, and the force of recurring objections may be offset by other advantages.

Collections on this beneficiary account have sometimes been so small as indirectly to retard the growth of the Church. Many a preacher has been retained in the "effective" rank after the work suffers under his administration, because he cannot be adequately maintained in the superannuated list. The very ministers, too, who will most likely need the benefit of the fund are those who early fade, and thereby the evil is aggravated. The Church, if toned to a proper pitch of liberality, could far better afford to furnish such with a living, though unemployed, than to permit the cause to languish under a senile pastorate. A younger and more acceptable incumbent might not only advance the work more rapidly, but also, if the matter were properly understood, collect sufficient to make comfortable provision for those worn-out in the ministry. If the sums required are not inequitably or disproportionately large, the proposed scheme is not impracticable. With proper safeguards, the claims may be duly restricted and promptly honored, with no greater deficiencies than fall to the effective preachers.

To avoid failure, the most scrutinizing care must be exercised in calling men into the pastorate. None should be engaged unless there is a fair presumption that their services will be so valuable as to justify a perpetual contract. Many worthy claimants have suffered because the Annual Conferences were embarrassed with a large necessitous class, excessively swollen from those who became inefficient or non-supporting very soon after admission to the traveling ranks. These, when the circuits will no longer receive them, are placed in the superannuated list, to increase the demand to such figures that both people and pastors despair of doing a respectable thing, and hence do not profess to attempt to secure a full subsistence for all dependent. Unforeseen causes may early incapacitate a preacher, but these would give no serious trouble if due precautions were invariably taken in the examination of candidates for the itinerancy. Among the qualifications for the work, physical strength, the quality of intellect, and commer-

cial habits, as well as spiritual advantages, should be considered. If these conditions were invariably observed, and the investigation was conducted rigidly on business principles, we might at once hopefully set about the task of providing for the actual necessities of all ministers, superanuated either after long services or by some exceptional occurrence.

It might be supposed that, if a life-long annuity was assured, some would ask for the superannuated relation long before they ought to retire from active duty. As age advances, many of the details of the work grow irksome, and there is an increasing distaste for the ever-recurring move. However, instead of a disposition in the declining itinerant to withdraw from the field, the very reverse is generally observed. Like the old war-horse neighing on the noise of battle, these veterans covet a charge when the Bishop reads off the appointments to others. There is reason to believe that the prospect of a straitened living has not nearly so much influence over the protesting superannuescent, as the seeming humiliation of dethronement from the power of the pulpit. A divinely appointed minister delights in nothing so much as in the active discharge of apostolic functions. The love of ease, so natural to humanity, especially as it is aging, is more than counterbalanced by the joy of work for the Master in so elevated a station.

If, however, the beneficiary funds are likely to be seized by lazy or inefficient applicants, some decisive way of preventing the abuse must and can be adopted. Disciplinary provision already has been made for the Connection to rid itself of unacceptable, inefficient, or secular preachers in charge by their summary, yet orderly, location. In a Methodist Conference the rights of a member to its financial emoluments are in no great danger of being ignored or trampled upon. The itinerants are ever disposed to deal justly, even leniently, with each other in regard to temporal claims. Severity is exercised only toward those against whom crime is alleged, because thereby the reputation of the calling is assailed, and its usefulness impaired; but in other concerns mutual regard and sympathy are entertained. In reference to professional defects in another, each accepts a personal admonition—"Restore such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be

tempted." There is no telling how soon the most popular preacher may seem to be no longer useful and acceptable. Nevertheless, if a support is to be insured to an accredited ministry at every stage of its existence, great strictness and strong nerve are necessary to rid the Connection of unworthy or sponging members. These must be removed by a process that will be just to those who retire, as well as to those who remain. After an unsuitable person has been retained in the itinerant ranks for a great length of time, and thereby hindered from engaging in the more remunerative callings of life, it would be unfair to peremptorily remand him to temporal pursuits. He should be dealt with, when he first betrays signs of decline in spiritual power, or the Conferences must accept the legitimate consequences of their timid forbearance. The heroic course is kindest to those whom the Church cannot afford to perpetually maintain. If they are likely soon to become "wet logs," it is better at once to direct them to more profitable employments in secular life, or they will be equitably entitled to continued place and benefit in the work. On this account the doors to the itinerancy must be jealously guarded, and admission on trial must not practically signify, as it often does, reception into full connection. The proposition of the Bishops, at the last General Conference, to extend the period of probation to four years, is worthy of renewed attention. On the same principle it may be urged that the annual examination of character is usually passed over with perfunctory and unbecoming haste. An arrest of character in open Conference, without premonition, would now be a anomalous procedure, yet our forms imply that such an action is possible. Discreet, conscientious, and nervy sentinels are needed all along the line.

An objection is urged that, when the means of livelihood are secured to all ministers indiscriminately, many would be reckless in their expenditures and unthrifty in the management of their estate. The force of this statement must be acknowledged, but the Church is not thereby prevented from making a partial provision for the superannuates, or dependent widows and orphans, whose business affairs were never conducted with proper economy. Some preachers, like many other people, do not take the requisite precautions for old age,

living, perhaps unnecessarily, to the full extent of their means; yet very few, at the best, can save much from their salaries, while many have shown more than ordinary skill in rearing and educating their families on the meager pittances allowed. The pastor usually is expected to spend, in one way or another, about all that is doled out to him. Those who receive the largest stipends frequently have no greater margin, at the year's end, than others whose claims are stated in three of the lower figures. If a minister secures a worldly fortune, it is either by inheritance or marriage, unless he speculates in real-estate or stocks, and this we have been taught is to be always deplored and avoided. Granted, however, that a fortunate disposition of clerical assets is possible, the assurance of a few beneficiary dollars years hence, if needed, will not cause a truly sensible man to be heedless or rash in present property concerns. Daniel Drew lost none of his commercial shrewdness because he commanded a pension for services in the War of 1812. A true minister shrinks from being a sponge or an object of charity. Training others to consecration for the sake of Christ, he himself learns the lessons of unselfishness, and will not draw on the common ecclesiastical fund for more than is accorded to be his by right of service or actual need. If the contrary spirit is disclosed, it ought summarily to be rebuked. The offender is no longer entitled to countenance.

Again, it may be charged that absolute provision for all recognized ministers is pushing community of interest to extreme and dangerous limits. The spur to individual exertion is blunted, and the relative value of talent and application to business is not properly appreciated. For this reason the old system of uniform claims has been abandoned, and now preachers with two or no children may receive twice or thrice as much as the struggling circuit-rider with a family of nine. Yet inequalities of condition were common under the former *régime*. Our variable lots in life are largely dependent on those who manage them. Some pastors are sent to comparatively unfertile fields, and not only feed themselves well, but also add largely to all the resources of the Church. Others are appointed to charges that customarily pay liberal salaries, but under an inefficient, unwise, or ill-adapted administration, fall behind in every interest, both spiritual and temporal. There

are pastors who will receive about so much, no matter where they are placed. Still, in the Methodist system, the law of averages must to some extent obtain. We confess to embarrassment in dealing with the difficulty, but the fact is analogous with our polity in other respects. If we provide for the worn-out preacher at all, why not systematically?

Here some one may inquire, Why, then, raise a fund at all? And if so, why not make the aged in all the walks of life beneficiary claimants? The answer suggests itself. A preacher, for the sake of the Gospel, has been required to stand aloof from the scramble for earthly riches. Even if he would strive for gain, the limitations of his calling thwart his efforts. Others take their chance of poverty or riches. He, strictly speaking, must accept only the former. Then, if he gives a life's work, he is entitled to a life's pay. "The laborer is worthy of his hire." In other denominations, single churches often make competent provision for *emeritus* pastors, without respect to any general plan which the Church at large may adopt. Surely, where the connectional bond is so strong, as with us, and where the individual yields, even in choice of fields for labor, to the ecclesiastical entity, he is entitled to a dividend of the wages that are offered, and under favorable circumstances may be sufficient, for all in the vineyard.

On the principle that some sort of provision must be made for a disabled ministry, great care and discretion are to be used in fixing the claims of beneficiaries. Previous habits of life have much to do with present needs, but no encouragement or countenance should be given to wastefulness. Hardly so much should be expected as is allowed for an equal number in the effective ranks. Probably no aid ought to be given to a family that can be comfortably maintained without ecclesiastical subsidies. On this question there is difference of opinion, but the Church cannot assume to pension all her faithful servants. The only guaranty to be offered an itinerant minister is, that he or his shall not starve while he is duly accredited. Many enter the work in easy circumstances, or, because of their calling, effect marital alliances that are esteemed fortunate in a worldly sense. Much of their wealth may have accrued indirectly from advantages obtained through the ministry, and perhaps their services already have been sufficiently

compensated. The parochial life is so happy and honorable that no one who has enjoyed it ought to grumble if it alone has furnished him no more than a bare subsistence. Therefore every claimant should be willing to make a full and clear statement of his assets, income, and probable outlay to the authorized committee, in order that an intelligent and relatively just appropriation may be recommended. An apparent showing of accumulated property need not operate unfairly, if the proper explanations are made, since the principles of making the estimate are not ruthlessly invariable.

Term and character of service should weigh something in arranging for the distribution; not time alone, but also efficiency, for some may accomplish more in five years than others in twenty. Yet it is a fair presumption that, the longer a man has been at work, the more good he has done. Relative merit, however, cannot be a very prominent factor in this calculation. Distinctions of this sort are painfully invidious, and often inaccurately drawn, and the conditions of the ministerial contract imply the right to an equitable share in the beneficiary proceeds. Still, the moral responsibility of claimants is subject to the most rigid scrutiny. It would ill befit one who rails at the Church to accept its proffered aid. Ministerial respectability is steadily required. The disabled preacher who cripples his superior in office, or is troublesome in the congregation where he worships, ought not to be surprised when the same result follows that would have happened had he, while in charge, been so unwary or unwise.

It cannot be expected that the claims of those on the retired list will be placed at as high a figure as are those allowed to effective pastors. The expenses of the latter are necessarily greater. More clothes, food, fuel, light, literature, and expense of travel are required for those who are active and growing in the wearing duties of the Church. Elderly persons can live comfortably on less than the young and middle-aged. Besides, the superannuate has more leisure for saving or turning an honest penny, by attending personally to home chores, caring for cow, chickens, or other stock, and cultivating the garden, which will relieve the painful tedium of increasing seniority, and will contribute much to the luxury and comfort of the patriarch's home. None can be supported in idleness.

The time of an aged preacher is just as sacred as that of the pastor, and the Conference claimant is expected to supplement his stipend, as far as practicable, by preaching, writing, colportage, manual labor, or other useful and elevating employment. But when a claim has been once established it should be scrupulously settled. All these conditions are of similar force in their application to the widows and orphans who depend on the Church for subsistence.

For this very considerable undertaking large sums of money must be obtained, and the question naturally arises, How are they to be raised? Methodism so far has proved equal to emergencies, and if this ideal is accepted as obligatory, the means will be forthcoming.

Two methods are possible, taken together or separately. (1) The claim of the Conference beneficiaries may be pooled with the estimates for pastor, presiding elder, and bishops, and collected in the general expenses of the charge. (2) A direct collection, as is customary now, for this specific purpose may be taken, a course which has been adopted in many places to secure the quotas of the district and general superintendents. The first has the argument of analogy in its favor. The second is the more popular, and possibly more practicable. At any rate, a public appeal for this cause should be made annually. For this many are inclined to give when they would refuse to contribute for other purposes. A sense of gratitude prompts them to remember some of the beneficiaries as having ministered unto them in spiritual things, breaking the bread of life, and leading them into the knowledge of that truth which has been the source of great earthly as well as heavenly good. It is universal testimony that the "fifth collection" is raised with less embarrassment than any other fund, benevolent or beneficiary.

Endowments, from either the Book Concern or the various preachers' aid societies, may serve to supplement the work, but should not be allowed to displace the annual presentation. The case of the superannuates, both for the sake of the people and their own sake, should be submitted directly to the consideration of the Church. Our aged preachers and lonely widows endure a hard lot at the best, and it would be all the more trying if they should seem to be lost sight of in the

periodical distribution. Not as a charity, but as the payment of wages at stated times, must the settlements be made, so that the Church may be reminded constantly of its relation to the workers of former years. Enough money ought to be raised by ordinary methods to meet the claims of all the preachers, so that legacies and endowments might be applied to special cases or emergencies, or for those institutions which can never command a universal popular support, such as the colleges, biblical schools, hospitals, and other benevolent enterprises of a local or limited character.

To the younger preachers is this work largely committed. Gratitude demands that those who have laid the foundation shall be invited to the comforts of the shelter. He who has planted a tree has a right, if he lives, to share in its fruits. Our fathers did noble work in the establishment of a prosperous and liberal Methodism, and those to whom the management has been intrusted would be guilty of a great wrong if they allowed the founders to suffer in neglect. We are a family. Surely the stalwart boy, who earns a little more than his bread and clothes, does not begrudge the older invalid sister or decrepit grandsire that portion which is accorded for the honor of the home, as well as of humanity. Good mothers do not estimate by weight or measure the toil and sacrifice cheerfully rendered for their children. Lovers of their race plant for other ages, and we owe to the former as well as to coming generations. One may now receive the good and another the evil things, but soon the order may be reversed. It is a part of prudent stewardship to lay a foundation of good works for the time to come. Besides, this grand possession of Methodism is not the exclusive property of the ministers now in charge. If the present pastor receives a larger stipend than another, his salary is in the nature of a commission more or less profitable as it is successfully administered, but there are other proceeds to be carefully husbanded and judiciously distributed.

Sentiment plays an inferior part in so important an enterprise. An itinerant ministry can be supported only by rigid adherence to system, and similar methods must be employed in behalf of those who have been retired from active service; but to protect those who are conscientiously faithful, unworthy

applicants must be rejected at any time when their lack of merit is clearly proven. Mutual rights are to be respected, and barnacles must not be allowed to sink the ecclesiastical ship. Let not the claimants betray too much anxiety in regard to their estimates, for excessive and ill-founded demands may lead to utter repudiation. Those who have heretofore gone to the battle may now be content to remain on the walls, and raise the shout in Zion. They may be useful still, and happy, as they cheerfully lend a helping hand or speak a hopeful word. To others is assigned the duty of bringing in the spoils. Absorbing cares preoccupy younger minds, and they may seem to be devoid of the sympathy desired or expected, but they dare not depend on spasms of gush for the succor of the declining and helpless. It is our present business, not only to create and preserve a proper sentiment in regard to ministerial support, but also insure a safe and satisfactory adjustment for the future.

Art. VI.—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

[First Article.]

British Opium Policy, and its Results to India and China. By F. S. Turner, B.A. London. 1876.

The Poppy Plague and England's Crime. By J. F. B. Tingling, B.A. London. 1876.

The Opium Question. By Rev. Arthur E. Moule, of the Church Missionary Society, Ningpo. London. 1877.

The Opium Trade. By Nathan Allen, M.D. Lowell, Mass.

Our Opium Trade with China, and England's Injustice toward the Chinese. By W. E. Ormerod. London.

The Friend of China. The Organ of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Vols. I to VI. London.

The Chinese Recorder. Foochow and Shanghai. Vols. I to XI.

The Middle Kingdom. By S. Wells Williams, LL.D. Harper Brothers.

The Traffic in and the Use of Opium in our own and other Countries. A Document by the Representative Meeting of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England for 1881–82. Providence. 1882.

Opium—England's Coercive Policy. By Rev. John Liggins. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The Truth about Opium-Smoking. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1882.

I. History of the Trade.

It is not possible to state with certainty when opium was first introduced into China. We know that it was to be found

there as early as the seventeenth century; and there are some who think that the probable date of its introduction is about the eighth or ninth century, at which time China had a very extensive and constant intercourse with Western Asia. The Portuguese were the first among European nations to trade in the drug; but the traffic was of very small proportions, seldom exceeding 200 chests per annum, up to the year 1769. For many years subsequent to that date the maximum annual importation was 1,000 chests. It was undoubtedly imported and used originally as a medicine; but it is possible that the increase in the trade under the Portuguese indicates that the drug had already begun to be used as a stimulant.

It is necessary, in carrying out the purpose of this article, to review the course of the East India Company in its management of the production and sale of opium in India; and it is in place to notice the fact that, prior to sending the drug to China, the company had assumed the monopoly of the trade in India, and had entered upon a course of great oppression toward the land-holders in Bengal, in compelling them to plant their fields with poppies. The outrageous conduct of the company's representatives in these matters came under the review of Parliament in 1783; and the Committee of the House of Commons in that year stated that "very shocking rumors had gone abroad, and they were aggravated by an opinion universally prevalent that, even in the season immediately following the dreadful famine which swept off one third of the inhabitants of Bengal, several of the poorer farmers were compelled to plow up the fields they had sown with grain in order to plant them with poppies for the benefit of the engrossers of opium. This opinion grew into a strong presumption when it was seen that in the next year the produce of opium (contrary to what might naturally be expected in a year following such a dearth) was nearly doubled."

Reasons were found in the inconvenience of making remittances to China in bullion at a time when the treasury at Calcutta was very heavily drawn upon for home necessities, and in other circumstances, for monopolizing the opium trade in China. A certain Colonel Watson seems to have the bad preeminence of making the suggestion to the East India Company, in a letter to the Board of Revenue, dated March 29, 1781,

in which he says: "I take the liberty likewise to suggest the expediency of this government now taking the opium trade to China under its own management, and consigning the whole quantity that may be required for that market to the company's supercargoes at Canton." This proposal was accompanied by an offer of his ship, the "Nonsuch," to take the opium to China. His offer was accepted, and soldiers, cannon, and medical stores supplied by the company. A contract was also made with one Mr. Thornhill, the same year, to take 1,490 chests of opium to the Straits of Malacca and to China, and he sailed in advance of Colonel Watson, with 22 guns (six-pounders) and 100 men. These were nothing less than bold smuggling adventures, deliberately entered into by the government of British India; for said government was then entirely in the hands of the East India Company, the officials at Calcutta receiving their orders from the directors of the company in England.

This smuggling enterprise was, however, very unsuccessful. One of the vessels was seized by the French, and the cargoes which reached China became the source of great embarrassment to the company's supercargoes there, who say to their superiors in Calcutta, "The importation of opium being strongly prohibited by the Chinese Government, and a business altogether new to us, it was necessary to take our measures with the utmost caution." They then show how they were obliged, after protracted secret negotiations with two of the hong merchants, to accept the low price of $210 a chest. The Court of Directors in London, very properly, condemned the expedition, saying, "Under any circumstances it is beneath the company to be engaged in such a clandestine trade; we therefore hereby positively prohibit any more opium being sent to China on the company's account." The Governor-General of India at the time was the notorious Warren Hastings, and this opium-smuggling enterprise was under his direction. Among the charges on which he was tried by the House of Commons in 1786 was one on this subject, accusing him of causing a loss of $100,000 to the company; and affirming

That every part of this transaction, from the monopoly with which it commenced to the contraband dealing with which it concluded, criminates the said Warren Hastings with willful

disobedience of orders and a continued breach of trust; that every step taken in it was attended with heavy loss to the company, and with a sacrifice of their interest to that of individuals; and that if, finally, a profit had resulted to the company from such a transaction, no profit attending it could compensate for the probable risk to which their trade with China was thereby exposed, or for the certain dishonor and consequent distrust which the East India Company must incur in the eyes of the Chinese Government by being engaged in a low, clandestine traffic prohibited by the laws of the country.

This first stage of British opium monopoly is a dark and damning page in the history of the times. It was "conceived in sin and born in iniquity;" and it had such a career as might be expected from its origin. It sullied the reputations of all who were connected with it, and brought deep and lasting disgrace to the British name. Would that there had been wisdom and piety enough to see the disgrace, and to atone for it by subsequent righteous dealing! But later years have only intensified the iniquity of earlier times, and shrouded in deeper darkness the historic page.

The records show that the Governor-General, the company's representatives in India, and the Court of Directors in London, all bent their energies to increasing the production and sale of the baleful drug. No questioning as to its destructive effect upon their fellow-men, or as to their moral responsibility for the evils of the traffic, seems to have entered into their counsels. They gloat over the increasing demand with intense satisfaction, and lay their plans for pushing sales in new regions with an earnestness and vigor worthy of a better cause. In 1787 the Governor-General, Hastings, congratulates the company on the success of his plans, as shown by the fact that "the price has progressively risen at the company's sales from year to year, while the quantity has almost doubled, an evident proof that it is either become an article of more general consumption than formerly, or that new markets have been opened for it."

China was looked to, with increasing interest, as the most inviting field for a large increase in the traffic. The unscrupulous Governor-General proposes to the directors to employ an agent in some suitable port who should be "intrusted to act in concert with the company's supercargoes in China in settling the contract for the annual quantity of opium to be

delivered at Macao to the Portuguese or to the Chinese." He knew that the whole trade was illicit, and that not a pound of the drug could be got into China except by smuggling and in defiance of the laws of the empire; and yet he deliberately proposes a system by which the company shall find a market in China, and thus increase its ill-gotten gains. The directors, in their reply, take the precaution to observe at the outset that they "would on no account wish to be concerned in an illicit trade;" and then, with that peculiar sort of consistency that characterizes their entire history, they continue:

> Were we once possessed of a firm establishment to the eastward, there would be little doubt of the success of the undertaking. We might meet there with a market for the whole produce of our opium farms, to be paid for in dollars, or in tin and pepper, and such other articles as might be very profitably disposed of at Canton. And whatever opium might be in demand by the Chinese, the quantity would readily find its way thither without the company being exposed to the disgrace of an illicit commerce.

The purpose of the directors to stimulate the traffic as much as possible, to make it a source of increasing revenue, and yet to shield the company from any charge of directly violating the laws of China, is here clearly set forth; and on this policy they acted as long as the company retained control in India. Externally, they conformed to the law. In reality, they encouraged and promoted smuggling in various ways. Toward the close of the last century we find them prohibiting any of their servants, on penalty of immediate dismissal, from carrying the drug to China. Their authority over British subjects in China was such that they could thoroughly enforce any order they chose to issue. Their power was vested in the supercargoes, who constituted a sort of council, or band of officers for the company, always resident at Canton. Every officer of a British vessel sailing to China was obliged to sign a bond that he would obey their orders. They had equal control over British subjects in India. No British ship could trade with China without a license from them, and the license became void in case of any failure to obey the orders of the supercargoes. Never had any body of men more complete power to prevent smuggling than had the East India Company. Yet

at the same time that they were prohibiting it by their public orders they were continuing to grow opium for the Chinese market, and to sell it to the smugglers, whom they freely licensed to trade with Canton. They ascertain, in 1829, that a great preference is shown in China for the Behar opium, and they immediately order an inquiry to discover what are the qualities that have obtained for it this preference, with the purpose of adapting their opium to the taste of their Chinese customers. The payments made to the poppy growers in India were increased from time to time, with the avowed purpose of inducing them to extend its cultivation; and Sir George Staunton refers to measures of this kind taken by the company about 1831 as suddenly almost quadrupling the supply.

Much of the illegal trade was carried on for many years through the Portuguese settlement of Macao; but eventually the Portuguese, thinking that the British were making too much money through the use of their port, took measures to confine the trade of that port to Portuguese subjects. The British merchants then tried to establish their trade at the port of Whampoa; but the attempt was unsuccessful, as the virtuous Chinese officials stoutly resisted the introduction of the forbidden drug, while the vicious ones demanded exorbitant bribes. At the mouth of the Canton River lies the island of Lintin. Its ample harbors afford a safe anchorage at all seasons of the year. Ships would be safe both from the vicissitudes of the weather and from the attacks of Chinese mandarins. So Lintin became the home of the "opium fleet." The receiving-ships stationed there were strongly armed, and increasing quantities of opium stored in them, until, in 1834, the amount had risen to more than twenty thousand chests. The vessels that brought supplies to these store-ships were the finest clippers that floated on the sea; and the ships of rival houses frequently raced from India to China, often making over three hundred miles a day, winged messengers of beauty, but carrying death and destruction to China.

The method of carrying on the trade was as follows: Natives wishing to make purchases would apply through brokers to British merchants at Canton, who would issue orders on the receiving-ships. Carrying boats armed with guns, and manned by crews of desperate character, plied between Lintin

and the city. They were popularly designated "fast crabs," or "scrambling dragons." These boats, with more or less connivance by the Chinese authorities, delivered the illicit drug to the purchasers at Canton. The illegal traffic was not allowed to progress, however, without frequent and vigorous protests. Honest and patriotic officers would frequently take strong measures for its suppression, and on various occasions imperial edicts were issued against it. Among these, a notable instance is that of the Emperor Tao-kwang, in 1821, on the occasion of the confiscation of certain cargoes at Canton because of opium smuggling. In his edict, referring to the export trade in tea and other articles as beneficial to foreigners, he says:

> Yet these foreigners feel no gratitude, nor wish to render a recompense, but smuggle in opium, which poisons the empire. When this conduct is referred to the heart, it must be disquieted; when referred to reason, it is contrary to it. In broad day on earth there is the royal law; in the shades after death are gods and demons. These foreign ships pass an immense ocean; they likewise go through gales of wind, boisterous seas, and unknown dangers, entirely preserved by the condescending protection of the celestial gods; and, therefore, they should hereafter rouse themselves to zealous reflection, to bitter repentance, and to reformation, and alter their inhuman, unreasonable conduct.

Subsequent history, up to the time when the British Government abolished the control of the East India Company over British subjects in China, in 1834, is but a repetition of that already given. It is a history, on the one hand, of a company of professedly high-minded English gentlemen, vested with extraordinary powers, proclaiming in their public documents hearty acquiescence in the laws against opium, and ostentatiously forbidding all connection with it on the part of their agents, while secretly stimulating and encouraging the traffic in every possible way, and complacently pocketing the enormous gains of the nefarious trade. Before the traffic passed from the control of the company, opium had cost China $11,618,167, while she received for her tea supplied to the whole of Great Britain only $9,133,749.

In 1834 the British Government abolished the East India Company's monopoly of trade in China, and threw it open to all British subjects. The company, in retiring from China, tried to quiet their consciences by saying, "Were it possible

to prevent the use of the drug altogether, we would gladly do it, in compassion to mankind." To this they added the preposterous and hypocritical declaration that their object in retaining the opium monopoly was rather to restrain the habit than to obtain revenue! They showed the sincerity of this declaration by selling larger quantities of opium than ever to any body who would pay them for it.

Under the new arrangement, Lord Napier was sent as the first British Superintendent of Trade to China; but the Chinese Government, which had been dealing for a century with a trading company, refused to have any thing to do with "the petty English nation;" and the only official notice taken of his lordship's arrival was a tide-waiter's report that "three foreign devils have arrived." The increasing traffic, and its increasing irregularities, led the Chinese Government to take more energetic action for its suppression. In 1836 an edict was issued, mentioning by name nine prominent opium merchants, and demanding their expulsion. Captain Elliot, who was then Superintendent of Trade, did not comply with this demand. In January, 1839, a proclamation was issued, requiring that the receiving-ships be sent away, and threatening hostile measures in case of non-compliance. Commissioner Lin was sent to Canton, clothed with extraordinary powers to deal summarily with the matter. He demanded three things: (1) That all the opium on board the ships should be handed over to the government to be destroyed. (2) That the owners of the vessels should give a bond that they would never again bring opium to China. (3) That if afterward any was brought it should be confiscated, and the smugglers should be punished with death. These terms were concise, and easy to be understood; and they were evidently propounded in downright earnest. If not acceded to, the lives of foreigners were threatened. The foreign residences were surrounded, and many British subjects put in great peril. Under this pressure Captain Elliot, promising indemnification by the British Government to the merchants, collected over twenty thousand chests of the drug and handed them over to the Chinese commissioner, who proceeded with great heartiness to the work of destruction, which occupied twenty days—a thousand chests being destroyed each day, (in June, 1839.)

It is not contended that in all the conflicts which led to this result the Chinese were in every particular right and the British wrong; but as to the essential justice of this act of Commissioner Lin, many a just and true Englishman will join with Mr. Ormerod in saying:

> I hold that Commissioner Lin served us just rightly when the opium that was to have carried on the destruction of his fellow-countrymen was, instead, destroyed by him; and I honor the patriotism and admire the pluck of the brave and spirited commissioner who dared to step forth in defense of his country, and, in the interests of simple justice and of common humanity, to make a firm stand against a nation so great and powerful as our own.

Even after this, opium clippers came to China, and sought to land their cargoes. A crisis was precipitated by a riot between American and English sailors and some of the Chinese, in which a Chinaman was killed. Lin laid the blame upon the English, and although Captain Elliot made reasonable overtures, Lin refused to accept them, moved with two thousand men to the neighborhood of Macao, where the English had taken refuge, demanded that an Englishman should be given up for execution, and cut off the supply of food. His demand was refused, and the English took to their vessels. The Chinese then massacred the crew of an English schooner, and insisted on the signing of the opium bond, or the departure of all British vessels within three days. This brought on an engagement, in which the Chinese were worsted; and soon after the British were denied the privilege of trading with China.

Events were thus drifting inevitably toward war. The debates in Parliament following these transactions distinctly reveal the motives which controlled the action of the British Government. Sir John Hobhouse stated concisely the reason why the government had done nothing to put down the opium trade, when he said that it was because the trade was profitable. Lord Melbourne said, "We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." Lord Ellenborough made a strong point of the fact that the opium trade brought in a revenue of a million and a half

sterling, "derived from foreigners," and that if it were given up, this revenue would have to be sought elsewhere. The war was not advocated by any one on the ground of the seizure of the opium; but the whole history of the times and the tenor of debates in Parliament show conclusively that the opium traffic was the cause of the war, and that without it no conflict would have taken place. No formal declaration of war was made by Queen Victoria; but an order in council was issued to the Admiralty, decreeing that "satisfaction and reparation for the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the Empire of China against certain of our officers and subjects shall be demanded from the Chinese Government." The chief object of this order was to give directions in regard to the disposal of such ships, vessels, and cargoes of the Chinese as might be seized.

Soon the melancholy spectacle was presented to the world of a Christian nation making war upon a heathen nation in the interest of an abominable, death-dealing traffic. Other causes have been assigned—such as "insults to the flag," and maltreatment and murder of British subjects; but these things grew directly out of and were intimately connected with the iniquitious trade that was at the bottom of the whole difficulty. The public opinion of the world and of the British people themselves has designated the war of 1840 "the Opium War," and it would be impossible to label it more accurately or truthfully.

Sir Gordon Brewer arrived off Macao June 22, 1840, and immediately announced the blockade of the port of Canton. On the 6th of July he took possession of the island of Chusan, and soon after established blockades at Amoy, Ningpo, and the mouths of the rivers Min and Yangtse. Other active measures followed; and during the entire year the Chinese were unable to do any thing by way of retaliation, except to capture a few British subjects, as at Ningpo, where the widow of the captain of a wrecked vessel and some other persons were seized and carried in little cages to the city; and at Macao, where a solitary Englishman was captured by a marauding party and taken to Canton, where Lin at first intended to offer him as a sacrifice to the god of war, but on learning that he had never been engaged in the opium trade relinquished

the design. Various futile attempts at negotiations were made; and in January, 1841, Commodore Brewer proceeded up the bay toward Canton, attacking and taking possession of two forts. A treaty was then negotiated by Capt. Elliot and Kishen, providing for the payment of an indemnity of six millions of dollars, and the cession of the island of Hong-Kong to the British, with the restoration of Chusan to the Chinese, and the release of all prisoners. When this treaty reached the two sovereigns it was rejected by both—by Tao-kwang because it granted too much, and by Victoria because it conceded too little.

The emperor issued orders to "destroy and wipe clean away, to exterminate and root out, the rebellious barbarians," whom he characterized as "beings that the overshadowing vault and all-containing earth can hardly suffer to live," and "obnoxious to angels and men." These were comprehensive and emphatic orders, which, if executed, might have brought the opium traffic to a summary end; but there were serious obstacles in the way of their execution.

On the 26th of February Commodore Brewer, with nine ships of war and five hundred men, attacked and captured the eight Bogue forts, which were defended by three thousand troops, and supposed by the Chinese to be impregnable. The next day the British fleet encountered a long fortification on the river bank, with an intrenched camp of two thousand troops and one hundred cannon, and a strong raft thrown across the river. A hot contest ensued, in which Chinese courage was conspicuous, though discipline was lacking. One fourth of the Chinese soldiers were killed, the fort was captured, and a truce proclaimed. When the truce expired the British proceeded on their course up the river, removing every obstacle, and capturing every fort and battery on their way, until they reached Canton. On the 24th of May twenty-six hundred British troops invested the city; and, the next day, successfully attacked the forts and camps behind it. On the 26th they were prepared to open destructive fire on Canton; but negotiations ensued, providing that the forces should remain in the position they then held until a ransom of six millions of dollars should be paid, and the Chinese troops be marched sixty miles away from the city. Within a week the troops, about

fifty thousand in number, evacuated the place. After this, trade went on at Canton without particular interruption during the war, duties and charges being paid just as if the nations were at profound peace. Amoy was taken on the 27th of August, Chinhai on the 10th of October, and Ningpo three days later. Shanghai was taken in June, 1842; Chinkiang, the present head-quarters of our Central China Mission, on the 20th of July. Some of the most terrible scenes of the war were here witnessed. The Tartar troops defending the city, when they found that they were to be conquered, butchered their women and children to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. Sir Hugh Gough, the British commander, says in his dispatches, "Finding dead bodies of Tartars in every house we entered, principally women and children, thrown into wells, or otherwise murdered by their own people, I was glad to withdraw the troops from this frightful scene of destruction." Manchus could be seen inside their houses cutting the throats of their women, and destroying their children by throwing them into wells. In one house fourteen dead bodies, principally of women, were found. Out of a Manchu population of four thousand in the city, not more than five hundred survived. Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire, was closely invested, and every preparation made for assaulting it early in the morning of August 15, when, on the night of the 14th, the Chinese commissioners addressed a letter to Sir Henry Pottinger, requesting an interview for the purpose of arranging terms of peace. This resulted in an arrangement for a meeting between the commissioners of the two nations on the 26th, when a treaty was agreed upon, embracing the following provisions: (1) Lasting peace between the two empires. (2) The Chinese Government to pay twenty-one millions of dollars by the end of 1845, twelve being for the expenses of the war, three for debts due English merchants, and six for the opium destroyed. (3) The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British trade and residence, and trade conducted according to a well-understood tariff. (4) The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded to the queen. (5) All British prisoners to be unconditionally released. (6) All Chinese in the service of the English to be pardoned and held guiltless. (7) Correspondence

hereafter to be conducted on terms of perfect equality. (8) When the treaty receives the emperor's assent, and six millions of dollars are paid, the English forces to withdraw from the river and other places occupied, except Chusan and Kulangsu, which shall be retained until all the treaty stipulations are fulfilled.

After the treaty had been arranged, Sir Henry Pottinger introduced the subject of the cause which led to the war—namely, the opium traffic and the disturbances growing out of it. The Chinese commissioners declined to enter upon the subject at all, until they were assured that it was introduced merely for private conversation, when they manifested great interest, and asked why the British would not act righteously toward them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in the British Empire. Sir Henry replied that this could not be done under the constitutional laws of Great Britain; and tried to convince the Chinese commissioners that the evil was due to their own people and officers—to the former for using opium, and to the latter for allowing it to enter the country. He urged that the people would obtain the drug in spite of every enactment, and that it would be the better course for the government to legalize its importation, and derive a regular revenue from it. To strengthen this suggestion, he alluded to futile efforts of governments to exclude objects of popular desire—as, for instance, tobacco, from the legalized traffic in which Great Britain obtained a large revenue—while, as he asserted, the article was used with greater moderation in England than in other countries.

So we find the war ending with an indemnity for the justly confiscated opium, and with the representative of Christian England pleading with the pagan commissioners in favor of the legalization of a traffic which their reason, their consciences, and their humanity alike demanded should be forever contraband. It is true, as has been often stated, that this war opened China to Christian missions and to the influences of Christian civilization; but this fact constitutes no reason for gratitude to the British Government, nor any justification of its action. Joseph's career in Egypt and his deliverance of Jacob's family from famine did not justify the speculation of his brethren in selling him to the Ishmaelites. God overrules the action of

bad men to the securing of good results; but the bad men and their acts remain bad. The just pages of history must forever brand with infamy the course of Great Britain in this most unrighteous war. Stimulating the production of opium in India, encouraging and promoting the contraband trade in China, going to war when the noxious drug was confiscated, and exacting an indemnity for it, the government appropriately ended its iniquitous conduct in the matter by cheating the merchants on whose behalf it had demanded the indemnity. Dr. Williams, in "The Middle Kingdom," says:

> The six millions of dollars received from the Chinese, instead of being divided in China among those who were to receive it, which could have been done without expense, was carried to England to be coined, which, with the freight, reduced it considerably. Then, by the manner of ascertaining the market value at the time it was given up, and [? on which estimate] the holders of the opium-scrip got their pay, they received scarcely one half of what was originally paid to the East India Company, either directly or indirectly, thereby reducing it nearly a million sterling. Furthermore, by the form of payment, they lost nearly one fifth even of the promised sum, about £240,000 more. Then they lost four years' interest on their whole capital, or about £800,000 more. While the merchants lost the government profited. The company gained, during these four years, at least a million sterling, by the increased price of the drug, while Sir Robert Peel also transferred that amount from the pockets of the merchants to the public treasury.

We cannot better close our review of this war of 1840 than by quoting the strong and truthful words of Mr. Gladstone, uttered in his place in Parliament in that year:

> They gave you notice to abandon your contraband trade. When they found that you would not, they had a right to drive you from their coasts on account of your obstinacy in persisting in this infamous and atrocious traffic. You allowed your agent to aid and abet those who were concerned in carrying on that trade; and I do not know how it can be urged as a crime against the Chinese that they refused provisions to those who refused obedience to their laws whilst residing within their territories. A war more unjust in its origin, a war more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, I do not know, and I have not read of. The right honorable gentleman opposite spoke of the British flag waving in glory at Canton. That flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic; and if it never were hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China we

should recoil from its sight with horror. Although the Chinese were guilty of much absurd phraseology, of no little ostentatious pride, and of some excess, justice, in my opinion, is with them; and while they, the pagans, the semi-civilized barbarians, have it on their side, we, the enlightened and civilized Christians, are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and with religion.

The history of the traffic since the close of the war so vigorously condemned by the present Premier of Great Britain is of a character corresponding to its earlier days. For sixteen years after that war ended the trade in opium was still contraband in China. Still the East India Company stimulated the production of the drug in India, and still the smuggling into China was encouraged and promoted, with this great additional advantage, that Hong-Kong had become British territory and an exceedingly convenient store-house for the drug, which could thence be easily smuggled into China. Receiving-ships were stationed at the entrances of the open ports, to which cargo boats would make their frequent visits, returning generally at night, under cover of the darkness, and bringing large quantities of the drug to clandestine purchasers. Not unfrequently difficulties arose; and these finally culminated in another war. The immediate occasion of this war was the seizure by the China authorities at Canton, in October, 1856, of a vessel named the "Arrow," which had been armed by pirates, and engaged in opium smuggling, but which subsequently had sailed by permission under the British flag, and made its way to Canton. It was boarded by the Chinese officials on the plea that one of the crew was a pirate, and all of the crew excepting two men were carried off. The vessel had no right to the British flag, as its license to sail under that flag had expired some time before. Notwithstanding this fact, the Chinese were required to make reparation and apology. This demand was followed by the destruction of a fleet of war junks in the harbor, and subsequently by the bombardment and capture of Canton, in which the English were assisted by the French. The allied forces then made a demonstration toward Peking, taking the forts at the mouth of the Peiho, and occupying Tientsin, where a treaty was negotiated by Lord Elgin, June 26, 1858; but when Sir Frederick Bruce came, a year later, to exchange the ratifications of the treaty, the Taku forts stubbornly resisted his passage, and the fleet was driven back.

A new expedition was sent out; the French and English forces captured the forts, marched triumphantly to Peking, sacked the emperor's summer palace, and secured the ratification of the treaty of Tientsin, with additional articles, known as the "Convention of Peking," on the 24th of October, 1860.

Just previous to the departure of Lord Elgin from England, in 1857, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords that two questions be submitted for the opinion of her Majesty's judges: (1) Whether it be lawful for the East India Company to derive a revenue from the cultivation of opium? and (2) Whether it be lawful for the company to prepare opium for the purpose of being smuggled into China? His motion was withdrawn, but the government undertook to get a decision on these questions from competent legal authority, and accordingly submitted them to the Queen's Advocate, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Standing Counsel of the East India Company. Their answer to the first question was to the effect that there was nothing that contravened English law in the mere sale of opium by the company; but in answer to the second question these four eminent legal authorities say:

> We think, now that opium is made contraband by the law of China, and that its importation into China is made by Chinese law a capital crime, the continuance of the company's practice of manufacturing and selling this opium in a form specially adapted to the Chinese contraband trade, though not an actual and direct infringement of the treaty, is yet at variance with its spirit and intention, and with the conduct due to the Chinese Government by that of Great Britain as a friendly power, bound by a treaty which implies that all smuggling into China will be discountenanced by Great Britain.

That is to say, that these legal authorities, including the counsel of the company, found the East India Company to be accomplices of smugglers, and their conduct such as had a direct tendency to involve England and China in war. Most justly and truthfully does the Rev. F. S. Turner say:

> If China had possessed the physical force of the United States, and could have got her grievances submitted to a Grand Court of Arbitration at Geneva or elsewhere in any year between 1842 and 1858, she might have recovered damages compared with which the Alabama compensation would have looked small.

But China was weak and ignorant, and the Earl of Shaftesbury's motion for legal inquiry ended in the condemnation of England and India by their own self-chosen judges, without the slightest step being taken to restrain them in their course of injustice.

Although Lord Elgin, when he sailed from England, bore with him instructions from the Earl of Clarendon "to ascertain whether the government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade," the subject was not mentioned in the treaty which he signed at Tientsin—very possibly because he was ashamed to mention it, as our minister, Mr. Reed, said in a letter to him about that time, "I have more than once understood your Excellency to say that you had a strong, if not invincible, repugnance . . . to introduce the subject of opium to the Chinese authorities." Two months later he gladly signed the first treaty between England and Japan, which contained a clause expressly prohibiting the importation of opium.

During the negotiations preliminary to the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Tientsin, the United States Minister, the Honorable William B. Reed, addressed a letter to Lord Elgin, urging that the British Government ought either to abandon the opium trade or secure its recognition by China. Which of the two courses Mr. Reed regarded as the right one may be inferred from the following extract from his letter:

> But two courses are open for us to suggest and sustain—that of urging upon the Chinese authorities the active and thorough suppression of the trade by seizure and confiscation, with assurances that no assistance, direct or indirect, shall be given to parties, English or American, seeking to evade or resist the process; adding to this what, if your Excellency agrees with me as to the expediency of measures of repression, I am sure will be consonant with your personal conviction of what is right—the assurance of the disposition of your government to put a stop to the growth and export of opium from India. I may be permitted to suggest that perhaps no more propitious moment for so decisive and philanthropic a measure could be found than now, when the privileges of the East India Company, and what may be termed its active responsibilities, including the receipt and administration of the opium revenue, are about to be transferred to the Crown. I am confident my government would do ready justice to the high motives which would lead to such a course, and rejoice at the result.

But this proposition, so eminently consistent with Christian teaching and with humane impulses, implied a degree of virtue far in advance of the sentiments of the British cabinet; and Lord Elgin sought the legalization of the traffic. The Chinese, feeling themselves helpless before their conquerors, reluctantly consented. They proposed a duty of sixty taels (over $80) a chest; but the English commissioners would agree to no higher rate than thirty taels, which was therefore the rate adopted and inserted in the tariff. When the treaty was under revision in 1869 Sir Rutherford Alcock agreed to raise the duty to fifty taels; but the British Government refused to ratify the treaty, and the original treaty of Tientsin remains in force.

Thus at last the opium traffic was legalized in China; but it did not thereby become one whit less abhorrent to God and to all righteous men. Legalized iniquity is iniquity still; and it is not in the power of legislative enactments or treaty stipulations to lessen the crime of an accursed traffic, or to shield its abettors from their responsibility to a just and holy God. The Emperor Tao-kwang had said to Sir Henry Pottinger, when the latter proposed the legalization of the traffic: "It is true, I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." His successor was obliged to do that which he so sturdily had refused, but the vermilion pencil never moved so reluctantly as when it sanctioned the legalization of the opium trade.

For the last quarter of a century the British Government has been directly responsible for the whole iniquity, from the growth of the poppy in India to the sale of the drug in China. Almost at the very time that British cannon were thundering in Chinese ports to secure the treaty which legalized the opium traffic, the governing power in India was taken away from the East India Company by act of Parliament, and the Crown assumed direct control. Since 1858 the British Government has been the great opium grower of the world. Before that date the production of opium in India was a monopoly of the East India Company. To this precious privilege, as well as to all other rights of the company, the Crown succeeded. What a convenient coincidence that the legalization of the traffic was

effected just as the government went directly into the business of opium raising, and took control of India! It would not have looked well for the British Government to be directly promoting a contraband trade. When its responsibility was filtered through the East India Company the iniquity could not be brought so close home; but now that the government was going into the business, it was respectable and seemly to have legal sanction to the trade.

As an opium monopolist, it is not too much to say that the British Government has not only emulated the example of its predecessor, the East India Company, but has gone far beyond it!

The official correspondence of the administrators in India with the home government yields abundant proof of the determination to make opium a source of gain, and to push the trade to the utmost. Thus the Honorable J. Strachey writes, in 1869:

> Immediate measures of the most energetic character ought to be taken with the object of increasing the production of opium. . . . I think that the very least which we ought now to do is to endeavor with the least possible delay to bring up the total area under opium cultivation to seven hundred and ninety thousand five hundred beegahs, the extent declared by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to be necessary for the production of fifty-four thousand five hundred chests. I believe myself that we might with propriety go much farther, but any thing less than this will, I think, be certainly too little.

The Honorable W. Grey, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writes to C. H. Campbell:

> Are you quite satisfied that the fullest possible extension is being pushed in the Benares Agency? . . . If Carnac should see his way to doing any thing more than he has done already to extend the cultivation for next season you need not hesitate to sanction it at once.

Sir R. Temple writes:

> I am clear for extending the cultivation, and for insuring a plentiful supply. If we do not do this, the Chinese will do it for themselves. They had better have our good opium than their own indifferent opium. There really is no moral objection to our conduct in this respect.

Sir Rutherford Alcock agreed in 1869 to a revision of the treaty of Tientsin, as we have seen, which embraced an

increase of the duty on opium. He went from Peking immediately to Calcutta, and held a conference with the members of the Indian Government in February, 1870. He urged them not to oppose the concession he had made, and set forth in strong terms the moral objections to the trade. He expressed his belief in the genuine character of the Chinese opposition to the trade; but also assured them that there was danger that the Chinese would in self-defense develop opium cultivation in China, and drive the Indian drug out of the market. On the other hand, if Great Britain would give up the opium revenue, and suppress the cultivation in India, he believed the Chinese Government could and would suppress the growth in China, except in Yunnan, where its authority was in abeyance. Sir R. Temple asked whether, on condition that the Indian Government would fix a limit to the amount of opium sent to China, the Chinese Government would agree to repress the growth of the poppy in China; to which Sir Rutherford Alcock replied affirmatively, and again expressed his strong desire that the British Government would agree to some effective measures to discourage the consumption of opium in China. Now mark the reply made to this honest and frank effort of the British Minister to China. In two months after his conversation with them the Indian Government adopted the following resolution:

No. 2090, *dated 25th March*, 1870.—*By the Government of India, Financial Department.*

Resolution. The Government of Bengal shall be informed that the Supreme Government has resolved to increase the annual provision of opium in Bengal for export to China to sixty thousand chests, gradually indeed, but still with as much promptitude as may be conveniently practicable, and will be prepared to sanction any expenditure that, on full consideration, may appear necessary for this object. It is not deemed needful at present to raise the price paid to the cultivators to five rupees a seer, but the Supreme Government recognizes the probability that this concession must soon be made, and will be prepared to consider favorably any recommendation made by the Government of Bengal for such an increase, if it be found by experience that effect cannot otherwise be given to this resolution.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolution be communicated to the Government of Bengal for information and guidance.

Such was the answer of the Indian Government to the earnest plea of the British Minister to China—a resolution to

increase the production of opium, and carry on the iniquitous trade on a larger scale than ever! In the thirteen years following, the traffic has been pushed as vigorously as at any previous period. In 1876 a new convention with China was made by Sir Thomas Wade, known as the "Convention of Chefoo," the third article of which is as follows:

> On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants, when opium is brought into port, will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the customs, and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or a receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the *li-kin*. In order to the prevention of the evasion of the duty, the amount of *li-kin* to be collected will be decided by the different Provincial Governments, according to the circumstances of each.

The *li-kin* is a special internal tax, which may be raised or lowered at the discretion of the provincial governors, and the object of making this tax collectable by the customs was practically to put the traffic within the control of the Chinese Government. Sir Thomas Wade was quite ready to do this, as might be expected of a minister who said in an official dispatch to his government: "It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home;" and who also said:

> The concessions made to us have been from first to last extorted against the conscience of the nation—in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men—not merely of the office-holders, whom we call mandarins, and who are numerically but a small proportion of the educated class, but of the millions who are saturated with the knowledge of the history and philosophy of their country.

But to this day the British Government has refused to ratify the Convention of Chefoo, and has left the opium trade just as it was, while assuming the advantages conferred by those articles of the convention favorable to British trade.

It is a little over a century since the East India Company began to export opium to China. In the sixty years which elapsed before the monopoly of British trade in China was taken away from that company, (1773–1834,) the amount of

opium imported into that country was run up from 200 chests to 21,785 chests, valued at $14,454,193. [A chest contains about 133⅓ pounds.] The company then lost its monopoly of trade in China, but retained its monopoly of production in India, and in 1858 had run up the total export from India to 74,738 chests. The British Government then took its place, and by 1872 had increased the export to 88,789 chests. Its net revenue from opium then amounted to $38,286,065. In 1879 the amount of opium imported into China from India, under monopoly of the British Government, was over 83,000 chests, (more than eleven millions of pounds, or *over five thousand tons!*) It is estimated that about 22,000 chests were smuggled from Hong-Kong into China the same year—which would make the whole amount about fourteen millions of pounds, or *over six thousand tons!* The value of the regularly imported drug was $50,700,000; while the value of all the tea exported was only $46,000,000—so that, after China had given up her entire crop of two hundred and sixty-five millions of pounds of tea, she still had to pay $4,700,000, to make up the amount due for opium!

No wonder the Archbishop of York felt moved to say:

> The state of the matter is this: that the Christian nation of England has been in the past continually engaged in enforcing an unwilling nation to purchase great quantities of poison, which it has given to them; and has not scrupled to go to war even to enforce what I must call an iniquitous trade. Now, that being so, I do say that we cannot hold up our heads among the nations of the world if, when attention has once been directed to this matter, we allow it to slumber and sleep. . . . It makes the Queen herself, who is now the sovereign, the Empress of India, responsible . . . for poisoning the people, for destroying them physically and morally, and for corrupting a whole nation that is ready to protest against the corruption. . . . We say that it is a wrong thing from first to last. We say that it is a disgrace and a shame to this country that a heathen people should have to ask us to hold our hands and not to force the opium upon them, and that we as a Christian people should refuse to hold our hands, and with fire and sword make them take this deadly drug.

It is hardly possible fully to realize, or to characterize in adequate terms, the awful iniquity of this death-dealing traffic. The spectacle presented is not that of a government reluctantly

protecting some of its unworthy subjects in a trade abhorrent to itself; but that of the Christian government of one of the greatest, most powerful, and most enlightened nations of the earth deliberately entering into the growth, manufacture, and sale of a noxious drug, stimulating its production, complacently gloating over the increasing demand, anxiously watching for new openings, refusing to listen to the pleadings of a pagan emperor and his officials against so ruinous a traffic, demanding with sword and cannon the payment of indemnity for contraband opium righteously destroyed, forcing the legalization of the traffic, and continuing to push the trade with unscrupulous vigor, and to pocket its ungodly revenue for the benefit of its lavish and luxurious Indian Government. Surely the curse of heaven must rest upon this dark and damning traffic and upon its most unholy gains. The Christianity and humanity of England ought to rise up with united voice, and compel the government to cut off all connection with the production of the drug in India, and to assist the Chinese Government in the entire extirpation of the abominable and destructive trade. And the humane and Christian people of all other nations ought to give their united and hearty support to those in England who are battling for the right against heavy odds, in the face of guilty indifference and active opposition.

The consideration of the effects of the trade on the victims of the drug, and on the missionary cause, of Chinese opinion and action on the subject, and of the efforts made for the suppression of the traffic, must be left for a subsequent article.

Art. VII.—LATIN PRONUNCIATION.

Many teachers and scholars have thought that the pronunciation of Latin was a matter of no importance; that, as it was no longer a living tongue, it would make no difference how it might be uttered. And yet there has been a desire, for several years, on the part of the most eminent Latinists of Europe and America, for a uniform system of orthoepy.

It is evident to every student of language that the English

system never can become universal. Indeed, it is impossible to suppose that any of the nations, besides those that are English-speaking, would ever adopt it in any of its features; for the English sounds are so flat and sharp that they cannot adequately express the rotund and sonorous inflections and intonations that swelled forth in the native tongue of Cicero and Cæsar. No Italian, Spanish, French, or German scholar could be persuaded to adopt the English method; for these languages are more directly from the Latin than the English, and these nations know that the sounds of vowels and consonants which they have heard from infancy must more nearly express the old Latin sounds than any system of Anglo-Saxon origin.

Indeed, we may venture to assert that no critical English philologist ever expects, or even desires, the general adoption of the English system. And many of the most scholarly men in the United States and in Europe, who have been for years accustomed to this method, are longing for the prevalence of a more rational mode of pronouncing Latin. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in his preface to "Homer and the Homeric Age," speaking of several classical matters, makes this incidental reference to the English method of pronouncing Latin and Greek:

> I should gladly see the day when, under the authority of scholars, and especially of those who bear rule in places of education, improvement might be effected, not only in the points above mentioned, but also in our solitary and barbarous method of pronouncing both the Greek and Latin languages.

And this I believe to be the general sentiment of those who are conversant with the tongues of Southern Europe, and who are able to imagine what must have been the pronunciation in Italy when Rome was in her power and grandeur.

But can we adopt the Continental method? If we investigate we shall find that there are several Continental methods. Each nation of Europe may be said to have its own system. And there is little hope that that of the Germans will be adopted in France, or that of the Italians in Spain. For though they all agree, to a great extent, on vowel sounds, they differ on many consonant sounds, and there are national peculiarities belonging to each. So that, if we should seek to introduce, all over the

world, any one of these, even that of Italy, we could not hope for general acceptance.

But why should there be such difference of opinion concerning the pronunciation of Latin? The original orthoepy should not be lost; for in the palmy days of Latin literature there were grammarians who wrote extended treatises. In these they discussed the sounds of all the letters, and the variations between the long and short sounds of the vowels. And some of these writers even went so far as to describe the exact position of the organs in uttering each letter. Of late years the writings of these ancient authors have been hunted up. The eminent Schneider, in his "Elements of the Latin Language," gives the results of his elaborate investigations, and makes quotations from fifty different authorities. Thus we can go back to the root of the matter, and *know* what was the pronunciation of Rome's great orators and sublime philosophers. Thereby the true and original system has been resurrected from the *débris* of the past, and is brought before us of the nineteenth century as the *Roman method.* And it seeks to displace all other systems and to find universal acceptance.

Before considering the merits of this system, let us inquire how it came to be lost. It could not be otherwise than by the gradual corruptions, introduced from time to time, by teachers in the different countries.

In the course of thirteen centuries it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that many changes might be made by those teachers who thought they might improve the Latin, or assimilate it to their native tongue, and thus give what, in their opinion, was a more natural pronunciation. The scholar of Berlin or of Paris is amused at the corruptions made by the American or the Englishman in his pronunciation of German and French. And we, in turn, laugh at the brogue of the German and the Frenchman; and yet we are willing to anglicize the Latin without any hesitation, and expect to be regarded as *scholars* even when we do this. How *inconsistent* and *unscholarly* is such a practice!

By examining into the history of this matter we find that the old pronunciation of Latin, introduced into England long before the Norman conquest, was retained for several hundred years, and substantially existed in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries; and that about this time there was an effort made to corrupt it which was deplored and denounced by many of the Latinists of England.

Milton, the most eminent classical scholar of his day, the Latin secretary to the council, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib on the subject of education, makes some suggestions to him about teaching the scholars of his model school:

> Their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as possible, to the Italian, especially in vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a Southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to *smatter Latin with an English tongue is as ill a bearing as low French.*

Mr. Phillips, the tutor to several of the princes royal, and one of the ablest scholars of the eighteenth century, in his work on "Methods of Teaching," published in 1750, complains of the "very faulty and unpleasant manner in which the Englishmen were beginning to pronounce Latin." Dr. Foster, contemporaneous with the latter, in his "Essay on Accent and Quantity," complains of the "violence done to the quantity of the ancient languages by the English pronunciation." Mitford, in his "Inquiry into the Principles and Harmony of Language," published at the close of the eighteenth century, points out the "absurdity of introducing into Latin the eccentric pronunciation of the English." He represents its incompatibility with the true quantity of syllables, and proposes the restoration of the ancient sounds of the vowels as in the Italian. But it is only of late years that any special effort has been made to re-introduce the old system. The advantages claimed for the Roman method are substantially as follows: First, it is the *true* system, and hence in perfect harmony with the genius and structure of the language. Second, it is the only one that we may expect will ever be generally adopted, because it is not mixed and corrupted with other nationalities, but stands out alone and unique. And all can adopt it without compromising any national peculiarities. Third, it always distinguishes words of different orthography and signification by their sounds, while the English very often does not. Take, for example, the following words: *Censeo, censio,* and *sentio;* or *cervus* and *servus;*

or *cicer* and *siser*; *cella* and *sella*; *citus* and *situs*; *scis*, and *sis*, and *cis*; *amici* and *amisi*; or *circulus* and *surculus*. By the Roman method *every one* of the preceding words are uttered with an individual pronunciation, so that when you say *censeo* it cannot be misunderstood for *censio* or *sentio*. And when you speak of a *servus* it cannot be thought to be a *cervus*. And certainly this is an advantage in any language. Fourth, this system throws much light on the subject of Latin versification, and is the only one on which Latin poetry can be correctly read. As well might we undertake to recite the poems of Shakespeare and Milton, Bryant and Longfellow, according to French principles of pronunciation, as to read the Odes of Horace or the Eclogues of Virgil with purely Anglo-Saxon sounds. Let some French scholar try this, and he will see how he would thus *spoil*, yes, *ruin*, English poetry. Why, then, shall we persist in butchering the Latin poets? Fifth, it facilitates the study of comparative philology. The corruption of Latin pronunciation has isolated the Latin from its kindred languages. To see this plainly, let us compare the Latin and Greek. Various words in the two languages are substantially the same in spelling and in meaning. Take, for instance, the following Latin words, with their English pronunciation, and compare them with the corresponding Greek words:

Acœtis (a-see-tis) ακοιτις.	Cicero (sis-ser-o) Κικερων.
Cici (sai-sai) κικι.	Scipio (sip-i-o) Σκιπων.
Cercurus (sur-cu-rus) κερκουρος.	Oceanus (o-shee-a-nus) Ωκεανος.
Cœna (see-na) κοινος.	Cilicia (sil-ish-i-a) Κιλικια.

All the above Latin words, pronounced by the Roman method, would be recognized by the Greek scholar as of kindred origin with the Greek word on the same line. In fact, all the vowels, diphthongs, and consonants in the above words are, by the Roman method, uttered just the same in both languages.

But let us inquire into the Roman method more particularly. Many of the consonants have the same sounds as in English. There are, however, some peculiarities. No consonant has more than one sound. The digraph *qu* has the sound of *k* in *king*; *c* and *k* always have the same sound as *k* in king; *g* is uttered as in *get*; *j* as *y* in *yet*; *s* as *s* in *son*; *t* as *t* in *time*, and

v as *w* in *we*. All of the vowels have two sounds, and two only. They are as follows:

ā as a in father.
ă as a in idea.
ē as e in they.
ĕ as e in net.
ī as i in machine.
ĭ as i in holiest.
ō as o in holy.
ŏ as o in obey.
ū as u in rule.
ŭ as u in full, and
y has the i sound when used as a true vowel.

There is thus but really *one* sound to each vowel and *two lengths* of it. In ā the sound is prolonged, in ă it is clipped. No merely English scholar will be surprised at these sounds, for they are of every-day use in pronouncing our native tongue; the peculiarity consists in *limiting* these letters to these sounds. For we have in English seven sounds of a, five of e, four of i, eight of o, five of u, five of c, and two of g, s, and t. How much more simple, euphonious, and beautiful is the old Latin than the modern English!

But when we come to speak of the diphthongal sounds we fancy the unclassical scholar will rebel. They are as follows:

ae and ai as the English pronoun I.
au as ow in now.
oe and oi as oi in boil.
ui as the pronoun we.
ei as ei in veil.
eu as eh-oo, two sounds, yet uttered very nearly at once.

All these are in use to-day in the languages of southern Europe—those most closely connected with the tongue of Cicero. Yet we English people say that the Roman method is harsh and rough in its sounds. Perhaps we may find this to be largely a *judgment of the imagination*. William Cullen Bryant, one of the finest classical scholars that the New World has produced, in an article published as an editorial some three or four years ago in the New York Evening Post, makes an incidental reference to this matter in the following words:

> The whole force of reason lies on the side of this Roman method of pronunciation. . . . Once generally adopted, its harshness—which, after all, is no greater than that of Greek—will cease to be thought of. The absurdity of objection on this ground will appear to any one whose ear has ever caught the mellifluous flow of Homer's grand old Greek, or of Anacreon's lyrics, polished, perfect, and musical.

One of the most prominent Latin teachers that ever occupied a college chair, Professor J. F. Richardson, of Rochester

University, New York, says to those disposed to ridicule the peculiarities of the Roman method:

> As well might a rude Thracian have laughed at the polished discourse of the sage of the Athenian academy, as well might a driveling, reeling inebriate, meeting a sober and upright man, fancy him to be the stammering staggerer and sneer at his really clear speech and steady gait, as for an English Latinist to cast ridicule upon the pronunciation of a Roman Latinist.

Another able scholar, the late Robert Kelly, LL.D., in referring to the Roman pronunciation, uses very strong language:

> 'Tis better to give to Scipio and to Cicero the names by which they were known in the flesh, and which they have invested in immortal glory—far better all these changes—than to turn the Roman senate into a mass of hissing serpents.

He thus refers to our pronouncing Scipio *sip-i-o*, Cicero *sis-er-o*, and Cæsar *see-zar*, which names these great Romans never would have recognized as their own as they are pronounced by the English scholar of to-day.

But is there any probability that this Roman system will be generally adopted? We believe it is only a question of time. It is already used to quite an extent on the continent of Europe and in England. One of the professors of Latin at Oxford has prepared a "Syllabus of Latin Pronunciation," in which he has introduced this system.

The Rev. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, tells to what extent the new (if we may call it *new*) pronunciation is used, and how esteemed in that great English institution:

> There is, I think, no great difference of opinion here in regard to the principles of Latin pronunciation; even the *w* sound of *v* is secure from ridicule. In practice there is great diversity. Many schools adopt the new pronunciation in the higher forms only, which seems like beginning at the wrong end. However, the result is that the proportion of those who are familiar with the new pronunciation on entering the university is continually increasing. The old *mumpsimus*, both in respect to orthography and pronunciation, is doomed, and no longer ventures to put in a plea in arrest of execution. If American scholars accept the reform, we may hope that, in the next generation, all English-speaking Latinists will be intelligible to their colleagues all over the world.

But let us inquire how this Roman method is being received in this country. My distinguished friend and former college-mate, Dr. John W. White, (a professor in Harvard University,) says, in a recent letter:

> The Roman method is used here, and has been for several years. It is just going in at Yale with their new professor, Peck, who comes from Cornell, (New York,) and is an enthusiast on the subject. It is used at Cornell by his successor, one of our graduates.

We have investigated pretty thoroughly, and find that this system has been already introduced into about seventy universities and colleges of this country, among which, in addition to the three mentioned above by Dr. White, are the following institutions: University of California, Columbian University, (Washington, D. C.,) Illinois Wesleyan University, Indiana State University, Indiana Asbury University, Upper Iowa University, Cornell College, (Iowa,) University of Kansas, Kentucky State University, Kentucky Wesleyan University, Louisiana State University, Boston University, University of Michigan, University of Mississippi, University of Missouri, Rutger's College, Columbia College, (New York City,) University of City of New York, University of Rochester, (New York,) Union College, (New York,) Ohio University, Ohio Wesleyan University, Hiram College, University of Lewisburg, (Pennsylvania,) University of Virginia, Bethany College, (Virginia,) State University of Wisconsin.

But what of the success of the new pronunciation?

So far as I have been able to learn, it has been received with favor in every place where it has been used more than a year. I have known of but two teachers who were not satisfied with it. And they, I think, did not give it a fair trial. The eminent Professor Richardson, to whom I have already referred, expresses his experience in language that can substantially be adopted by those teachers of Latin who have used the English and Roman systems:

> I am persuaded, from the experience of twenty-four years in teaching Latin, seventeen on the English and seven on the Roman system, that I can teach the important principles of the language far more successfully with the true than with the false system of pronunciation. I have given the two systems a fair trial, with

no interest but to ascertain the truth; and I not merely *think* but *know* that, by the daily use of the *true* pronunciation, I can secure, on the part of the student, a much more intelligent and lively interest in questions pertaining to the etymology of the language, to its various inflectional forms and laws, to its quantities, and, above all, to its metrical system and to its relations to kindred languages.

And we think, if this system is fairly tried, it will meet with universal favor; and within another generation the *original* method may be used by all the Latinists of the world.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Reviews.

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN AND ORIENTAL JOURNAL, July, 1883. (Chicago, Ill.)—1. A Part of the Navajo Mythology; by W. Matthews. 2. Village Defenses; or, Defensive Architecture in America; by Stephen D. Peet. 3. Ancient Mexican Civilization; by L. P. Gratacap. 4. The Religion of the Omahas and Ponkas; by J. O. Dorsey.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Catholic Doctrine on Marriage; by Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D. 2. The Church of France and the Revolution; by Kathleen O'Meara. 3. An Old Biblical Problem Solved at Last; by Rev. Simon Lebl, D.D. 4. Father Felix Varela, Vicar-General of New York from 1837 to 1853; by J. I. Rodriguez. 5. Capital and Labor; by Rt. Rev. James O'Connor, D.D. 6. English Administration in Ireland To-day; by Bryan J. Clinche. 7. Converts: Their Influence and Work in this Country; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 8. The Alleged Fall of Pope Liberius; by Rev. P. J. Harrold. 9. The New Sovereignty; by A. F. Marshall, B.A.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, August, September, 1883. (Cincinnati.)—1. Comparative Religion; by Rev. O. P. Eaches. 2. Herbert Spencer in the Light of History; Prof. William C. Morey, Ph.D. 3. Wilkinson's Webster Ode; by William C. Conant. 4. Some Christian Testimony from Herbert Spencer; by Rev. Alvah S. Hobart. 5. Mr. Howells and the Scholastic Element in Novel Writing.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. July, 1883. (Andover.)—1. The Brahma Samaj; by Rev. C. W. Park. 2. On the Origin of the Primitive Historical Traditions of the Hebrews; translated from the German of August Dillman, D.D. 3. The Theology of Calvin—Is it Worth Saving? by Rev. E. A. Lawrence. 4. The Doctrines of Universalism; by Rev. A. A. Miner, S.T.D., LL.D. 5. A Symposium on the Antediluvian Narratives—Lenormant, Delitzsch, Haupt, Dillmann; by Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D. 6. Schleiermacher's "Absolute Feeling of Dependence," and its Effects on his Doctrine of God; by Rev. P. H. Foster, Ph.D. 7. Religious Instruction in Prussian High-Schools; by Prof. Hugh M. Scott.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1883. (New Haven.) — 1. The Salvation Army; by Rev. C. P. Osborne. 2. The Study of Elementary Geometry; by Prof. Eugene L. Richards. 3. Some Neglected Factors in Congregational Fellowship; by Rev. A. Hastings Ross. 4. Bancroft and Doyle on Colonial Maryland; by

Rev. President G. F. Magoun. 5. The Decline of the Congregational Church; by Rev. Charles F. Thwing. 6. The Present Claims of the Clerical Profession on Christian Young Men; by Rev. J. W. Backus. 7. The Revised Version and the Future State; by Rev. O. A. Kingsbury. 8. Herbert Spencer's Ultimatum; by Rev. I. E. Graeff.

September, 1883.—1. The Relation between Christianity and Heathen Systems of Religion; by Rev. D. Z. Sheffield. 2. Evolution as Bearing on Method in Teleology; by Rev. H. S. Stanley. 3. The Metaphysical Basis of Belief in God; by Rev. W. D. Hyde. 4. Apriorisms as Ultimate Grounds of Knowledge; by Prof. Henry N. Day. 5. The Modern Novel; by F. H. Stoddard. 6. Pantheism; by Rev. E. Janes. 7. The Present Outlook for Old Testament Study; by Prof. F. B. Denio. 8. The Revision and its Cambridge Critic; by Prof. C. J. H. Ropes. 9. A Lesson in Figures, or a Chapter from Numbers; by Rev. John Winthrop Ballantine.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Stephen Whitney Phœnix, Esq.; by Jacob B. Moore, Esq. 2. Genealogical Gleanings in England; by Henry F. Waters, A.B. 3. Huguenot: Origin and Meaning of the Name; by Hon. George Lunt. 4. Widow Ann Messant, *alias* Godfrey; by Charles E. Banks, M.D. 5. Portraits of New Hampshire Public Men; by Hon. Benjamin F. Prescott. 6. The Garfield Family of England; by William P. W. Phillimore, A.M., B.C.L. 7. Marriages in West Springfield; by Lyman H. Bagg, A.M. 8. Edward Randolph; by G. D. Scull, Esq. 9. Marriages in Warwick, R. I.; by Benjamin W. Smith, Esq. 10. Peter and John Brown; by Frank B. Sanborn, Esq. 11. Soldiers in King Philip's War; by Rev. George M. Bodge. 12. Braintree Records; by Samuel A. Bates, Esq. 13. Descendants of Thomas Deane; by John Ward Dean, Esq. 14. Register Plan for Genealogical Records. 15. Records of Winchester, N. H.; by John L. Alexander, M.D. 16. Name and Family of Broughton; by Henry E. Waite, Esq.

Princeton Review, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. The most recent Phases of the Tariff Question; by David A. Wells, LL.D., D.C.L. 2. Anthony Trollope; by Bayard Tuckerman. 3. The Alleged Conflict of Natural Science and Religion; by George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D. 4. On the Education of Ministers: A Reply to Pres. Eliot; by Prof. Francis L. Patton. 5. Recent Researches in Cerebral Physiology; by William B. Scott, Ph.D. 6. The Political Situation in France; by Edmond de Pressensé.

September.—1. "A College Fetich;" by President Porter. 2. Our Iron, Woolen, and Silk Industries before the Tariff Commission; by Herbert Putnam. 3. Incineration; by Rev. John D. Beugless. 4. The Artist as Painter; by John F. Weir, N.A. 5. The Antecedent Probabilities of a Revelation; by David J. Hill, Ph.D. 6. Recent French Fiction; by J. Brander Matthews.

Universalist Quarterly, July, 1883. (Boston.)—1. Episcopacy; by I. M. Atwood, D.D. 2. Scripture Exposition Reviewed; by the Rev. W. R. French. 3. Robert G. Ingersoll *vs.* Christianity; by Thomas J. Vater. 4. Questions in Relation to Sin and its Consequences, Salvation and Destiny; by Hon. L. W. Ballou. 5. The Romance and Religion of Geology; by S. H. M'Collester, D.D. 6. The Restoration of Humanity; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 7. New Testament Mysteries; by Rev. H. R. Nye. 8. Usage *vs.* Rights; by A. A. Miner, D.D. 9. The Critic Criticised; by O. D. Miller, D.D.

Presbyterian Review, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. Modern Miracles: by Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D. 2. The Doctrines of the Buddha and the Doctrines of the Christ; by Professor S. H. Kellogg, D.D. 3. Infant Salvation and its Theological Bearings; by Professor George L. Prentiss, D.D. 4. Spencer's Philosophy and Theism; by Oscar Craig.

The article on Infant Salvation is well worth the perusal of our most thoughtful Methodists for its candid survey of the historical ground and its irenical spirit. It fully recognizes the

supreme predominance of the dogma of infant doom among the Calvinists of past centuries, the revolution of Calvinistic sentiment at a very late date in this century, and gives honorable credit to those whose agency brought into his theology the milder view. Though it gently apologizes for his traditional fathers in a most natural and excusable, though sometimes in what would appear to us Arminians unique, way, he disguises no truth of history. He gives in foot-note a letter from the eminent Dr. Henry B. Smith to an eminent Methodist minister, presenting the desirableness of increased accordance between Presbyterianism and Methodism, and the real accordance that now underlies the two. So cordially are these presentations made that they revived in our mind the query raised years ago in our Quarterly, (in our foot-notes to Dr. Aikman's article,) whether the questions debated between Presbyterianism and Methodism could not be relegated to the region of metaphysics, and banished from our theology. This hope very much faded away as we perused the latter part of Dr. Prentiss' article, in which he states the "theological consequences" of the acceptance of the belief of universal infant salvation. In the most unconscious way Dr. Prentiss quietly assumes dogmas that to the Methodist mind are essentially one in appalling nature and substance with infant damnation. He does not sufficiently recognize that the change in the Calvinistic mind is not a logical, but a *sentimental*, one. That change or yield springs from a back-lying propulsion of popular *feeling* compelling the theological submission. The stern old predestinarian theologians unflinchingly refused to allow popular "gush" to interfere with their structural system of theologic truth. But so powerful is now that tide of "gush" that it sweeps away the barrier and compels the adoption of a new logic and a new exegesis borrowed from Arminianism. It is "the beginning of the end." Infant damnation and adult irrespective reprobation are of a piece, and both "must go." What is the humane difference between consigning to a predestined perdition a child eighteen inches in length and six months old, or an adult five feet ten and sixty years old? The former may be painted, especially to the maternal heart, in more melting strains—the ghastly fatality may be more *felt*—but the true logical injustice is not more positive and clear. Yet how unconscious of this identity a mind

so amiable as Dr. Prentiss' is may be seen from the fact that he imagines that it was a great mitigation by Calvin when he maintained that infant damnation arises, not from absence of baptism, but from direct reprobation by God! From this want of appreciation how in this revolution the maternal heart has conquered the theological head, how sensibility (and, we may add, human right feeling) has prostrated dogma, Dr. Prentiss' appreciation of "theological consequences" in the last half of his article is a signal failure. It penetrates but the surface of a very deep sea.

It was a good many years ago when grand old Lyman Beecher published in a Congregational periodical, called "The Spirit of the Pilgrims," an extended denial that the Calvinistic fathers held to the doctrine of infant damnation. This called forth from the Unitarian side a learned response, going over the historic ground and giving plentiful quotations from those venerable fathers, which showed very sweepingly Dr. Beecher's unacquaintance with their literature, and administered to him a Waterloo defeat. Within a decade or two Dr. Hodge made some similar adventures, which called out Dr. Krauth, of the Lutheran Church, who, with a still richer erudition, marshaled a body of old literature and spread it so broadcast before the public that never will there be a third respectable denial. Dr. Prentiss' article is a brief, candid, conceding survey of this state of the battle-field. It is graceful surrender on that point.

From even this brief survey we may draw some facts not sufficiently known, perhaps, by even Methodist thinkers. The doctrine of infant damnation was a part of the irrespective reprobation scheme introduced by Augustine into the Western Church. At the Reformation it came in with the still severer irrespectivism of Calvin and other reformers, either as subjecting salvation to the accident of baptism or to the absolute decree, irrespective of free agency or "any thing in" the finite being. And here we may note two things:

First, the dogma of infant damnation spread through the Reformation Churches, including the Augsburg and the Anglican. It appears in the *desert* of "God's wrath and damnation" upon every one "born of Adam" of the ninth of the English Thirty-nine Articles. How narrowly our own Wesleyan Methodism

escaped this dogma, by a few providential strokes from the pen of John Wesley! And how lamentably strange it is that the latest great system of theology published by an eminent Methodist scholar affirms that this erased passage is believed by every Methodist; that, indeed, the whole thirty-nine, the predestinarian seventeenth included, is standard with Methodism; and that this statement, without modification or annotation, is installed in "The Course of Study" of our American Methodist Episcopal Church! Very plausibly it might be argued from such high authorities that Methodists themselves are maintainers of the rightfulness of Infant Damnation!

Next, it is clear that *infant regeneration* has been extensively held by the Protestant Churches from the time of the Reformation until now. A limited infant salvation was based upon infant regeneration, and that upon infant baptism. And infant baptismal regeneration was as truly held by the Puritan as by the Churchman. This may be illustrated by the title of a book given by Dr. Prentiss, published at Oxford in 1629: "BAPTISMAL REGENERATION OF ELECT INFANTS, Professed by the Church of England, according to the Scriptures, the Primitive Church, the present Reformed Churches, and many particular divines apart. By Cor. Burges, Dr. of D., and one of his Majestie's Chaplaines in Ordinary. According to his mercy he saved us with the laver of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost." It closes with a Latin quotation from Augustine to the effect that "*Sacraments effect what they symbolize in the elect alone.*" That the Presbyterian Church holds to *infant regeneration* is conclusive enough from the following passage in the "Confession of Faith:" "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are *regenerated*, and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth." This corrects the error of those Methodist thinkers who, a few years ago, supposed that *infant regeneration* is an intrinsic absurdity and a heresy hitherto unknown in the Church. And when Gilbert Haven broached that doctrine in our Quarterly it was humorously retorted in one of our "Advocates" that his initials, G. H., stood for Great Heretic. Wesley, it is said, believed originally that baptism regenerated; but whether he ever held that it regenerated internally and efficiently, or only externally and declaratorily, we are not so clear, not having

thoroughly examined the record. In his earliest tract on baptism we believe that it will be found that he expressly declares that God's grace is not tied to ordinances. But certainly he did believe in infant regeneration.

We might well call our readers' attention to the dissertation in the latter part of Dr. Prentiss' article on PROBATION. It is, he says, a modern word. He finds it earliest in "that able work," Dr. Daniel Whitby's treatise on the "Five Points." A little more than a quarter of a century later Bishop "Butler employs it as a key to the moral government of God in the world." But Dr. Prentiss maintains that the idea of *probation* belongs to natural religion, and not to the Bible. To the elect, whose salvation is eternally secured, he tells us there is no *probation*, no conditional trial, but only a "training" to a fixed result. To the reprobate, whose wills are fore-ordainedly and administratively secured to final impenitence, there is no opportunity, no trial, no chance, no hope!! They are damned before born, without a possibility of escape! Of course, for both classes, and equally, there is no *probation*. We need not say how thorny would be the pew-cushion of most Methodists in listening to such a Gospel! There is no chance of damnation for the pre-eternally elect; there is no chance of salvation for the pre-eternally fore-ordained reprobate. This reprobate's will is sealed to unrepentant sin. And thus, with all the doctor's irenics, no doubt perfectly sincere, we have the old fatalistic story. It is just as Wesley concisely expressed it: "The elect will be saved, do what they will; the reprobate will be damned, do what they can." To a Methodist, PROBATION—not the word, but the thing—forms the very soul of the whole Bible. It begins with Adam, and ends with the closing eschatology of the Apocalypse. *Obey and be saved, disobey and be damned*, is the entire biblical strain. With Adam it was the obedience of works; under Christ it is "the obedience of faith." To unfold those alternatives before the perceptions of men, and before "the autonomy" of their free, unnecessitated, undecreed will, is the work, purpose, and life of the Law and the Gospel. And this difference between the two Churches is not merely metaphysical. It makes two different Bibles. And so when our Methodist fathers came to America their success was not due, as some say, to "their preaching the doctrines

common to all evangelical Churches." They every-where found it necessary to sweep away predestinarianism in order to make way for the offer of a free salvation. Before that sweep predestinarianism is fading and almost ready to vanish away. More and more the public mind revolts from a fatalistic Gospel. And it is only by the banishment of that dark dogma that a free Gospel can overspread the earth.

How that dogma can be retained in the minds and hearts of great, good, and humane men, as most surely it is, is to us the most insoluble of psychological problems. And here is the only way we know to our Irenicum. We drop doctrinal differences, and we can unite with Presbyterians in every good word and work. Who doubts the profound piety in the great Presbyterian body? Who does not rejoice in their stalwart efforts to benefit the world? Who does not recognize in that Church a great bulwark of Christianity—a bulwark alike against wickedness, against infidelity, and against the man of sin? Who does not admire the ability, the piety, and the scholarship of the Presbyterian ministry?—a scholarship most richly exhibited in this Presbyterian Quarterly, to the perusal of which we heartily commend every scholarly Methodist.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1883. (Macon, Georgia.)—1. Demands and Difficulties of Infidelity; by Rev. W. Harrison. 2. Wesleyan Arminianism; by Professor Wilbur F. Tillett, A.M. 3. The Church and Education; by Rev. W. P. Lovejoy, A.M. 4. Idealism and Realism; by J. M. Long, A.M. 5. Co-Education of the Sexes; by Rev. J. O. Swinney. 6. Law: Nature and Origin; by Rev. William I. Gill, A.M. 7. Studies in Psychology—Visions; by Rev. W. J. Scott. 8. Endowment of the Ministry; by Rev. S. W. Cope. 9. God Revealed in Nature; by Rev. W. Spillman.

Among the articles of this number our attention is specially attracted by that on "Wesleyan Arminianism," written by Professor Wilbur F. Tillett, of Vanderbilt University. Mr. Tillett has within the past year been elected to the theological chair in the Vanderbilt, as successor to the late Dr. Summers. He is a graduate of Princeton, but is a firm and manly opponent of the anti-Arminian specialties of Princeton theology. His statements of our doctrines are clear, fresh, and authoritative. He bears the honored name of Wilbur Fisk, and is a true representative expositor of Wilbur Fisk's theology.

We are especially attracted by his lucid statement of the opposite views held by the Calvinian and Arminian thinkers

on the topic now prominent before the mind of the religious public, namely, the doctrine of *hereditary guilt* derived from Adam. His representation of the Calvinian view is as follows:

> As a result of this fall all of Adam's race became sinners, and as such as *justly punishable* as was Adam, the *guilt* of whose sin is imputed to them, he having acted as their federal representative. Original sin, consisting of the *guilt* of Adam's sin and the corruption of his nature, is conveyed by natural generation to each of his descendants, which renders them as justly punishable as Adam became by actual, voluntary transgression, sin meriting punishment because it is sin, regardless of its voluntary or involuntary origin. Out of this race of fallen men, all of whom merited punishment and could have been justly left to bear the just consequences of their sin, God determined to save some; the reason for the election of some rather than others, or rather than all, being entirely in the divine mind.—Page 406.

We here call special attention to the strict logic by which the justice of arbitrary election and reprobation results from hereditary guilt. If all the race are guilty of or for Adam's sin; if their being born of guilty Adam "deserves God's wrath and damnation," then it is perfectly right for God to damn them eternally, and he is under no obligation to make any provision for their salvation. It is, then, perfect fatuity to say, as Watson seems to maintain, they *deserve damnation* provided an atonement is provided to save them! That is saying they deserve damnation provided it is secured that they be not damned—which is saying nothing at all. They deserve a damnation which can never be justly executed! How absurd it is to say that, if there be an atonement provided, they do "deserve damnation," but if there be no rescuing provision, then they do not "deserve damnation!" Surely the subsequent atonement cannot affect the antecedent *desert*. Is it the atonement that makes them damnable? Can God, by any subsequent provision of his own, create a desert of damnation that did not before intrinsically exist? And would it be justice in God to doom them for a desert of his own arbitrary creating and fixing upon them where it did not in its own nature previously exist? And is it not clear that when these thinkers require an atonement to render this desert just and real they do not themselves believe that it is truly just and real? We say they only *imagine* they believe it; for the

simple reason that it contradicts our fundamental axiomatic intuition of right, than which no certainty is more absolutely certain. And is it not clear, too, that the atonement provided is just as factitious as the guilt? It must be a fancy atonement that expiates a fancy desert of damnation. Two negatives may make one affirmative, but two falsehoods cannot make one truth. And then if this universal born desert of damnation is real, the universal consignment to hell is just, and God is justly at liberty to damn the whole or save a part at his own arbitrary volition. "Hereditary guilt," therefore, involves all those particularities of Calvinistic doctrine against which Arminianism has always protested. The Arminianism, so-called, that admits "hereditary guilt" completely crosses and contradicts itself. It denies the basal axiom that free volition is necessary in order to responsibility. And as birth is, on the divine side, a mode of creation, it affirms the Calvinian dogma that *God may justly create a man bad, and then damn him for being the bad that he has created him.* Happily Wesley has saved Methodism from that damnable dogma.

And what is monstrous in this doctrine of "hereditary guilt" is the fact that it affirms the rightfulness of the infant's damnation! It

"Damns him from his mother's womb."

It damns him at birth, and damns him in the cradle, and at his mother's breast. And if it does not execute that damnation to all eternity and in hell, it affirms such damnation to be just and right. It shuts the Arminian's mouth from maintaining that the eternal damnation of the dying infant is unjust.

Professor Tillett thus states the case of Adam's offspring:

Adam having sinned thus freely, it follows: That God was under no obligation to provide for *him* a second time a way of salvation, but could justly have punished him at once with death, temporal, spiritual, and eternal. Two alternatives were now before the divine mind after Adam had sinned: either to put Adam to death at once without offspring, or to permit him to be the father of a race of fallen beings like himself, and provide some way of salvation for them. If God permitted Adam in his fallen state to beget children, sinful and corrupt like himself, then he could not justly have left them to perish, but was morally bound to provide for them some way of salvation. They did not stand their probation in Adam, and hence God neither imputes the guilt of Adam's sin to them, nor are they justly punishable for

Adam's sin, being in no sense responsible therefor. Sprung, however, from a man polluted in his whole nature by the fall, they are born with a corrupt nature inclining them to evil and that continually, which is original sin. But this original sin is not properly punishable, even as created holiness is not strictly rewardable. No man is responsible or punishable for his own original sin until, by voluntarily refusing to get rid of it in the way provided by grace, he makes it truly his own. It is indeed true that all sin is, in the abstract, justly punishable; but it is also true that no sin is justly punishable *until* it is no longer unavoidable and necessary; in short, until its origin or its continuance, as the case may be, becomes voluntary. Hence, if one die before arriving at an age of accountability, he is saved without a voluntary accepting of Christ, even as he became a sinner without any voluntary act of his own.—Pp. 408, 409.

The professor, however, omits to explain the process by which the infant is saved through the atonement. We venture to discuss that point in our book notice of Professor Burwash on another page.

North American Review, July, 1883. (New York.)—1. Dynamite as a Factor in Civilization; by Pres. J. H. Seelye. 2. The Last Days of the Rebellion; by Lieut.-General P. H. Sheridan. 3. The Increase of Public Expenditures; by William S. Holman, M.C. 4. Democracy and Moral Progress; by O. B. Frothingham. 5. Needed Reforms in Prison Management; by Z. R. Brockway. 6. Science and the Imagination; by Thomas Sergeant Perry. 7. Sanitary Drainage; by Geo E. Waring, Jr. 8. Cruelty to Children; by Eldridge T. Gerry. 9. *Church Attendance;* by A Non-Church-Goer, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, Rev. Dr. James M. Pullman. Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance.

August.—1. Moral Instruction in the Public Schools; by Rev. Drs. R. H. Newton and F. L. Patton. 2. Making Bread Dear; by Henry D. Lloyd. 3. Woman in Politics; by Dr. William A. Hammond. 4. Henry George's Social Fallacies; by Francis A. Walker. 5. Crude Methods of Legislation; by Simon Sterne. 6. The Unsanitary Homes of the Rich; by C. F. Wingate. 7. Science and Prayer; by Pres. Galusha Anderson and Thaddeus B. Wakeman.

September.—1. State Regulation of Corporate Profits; by Judge T. M. Cooley. 2. Municipal Reform; by John A. Kasson, M.C. 3. Class Distinctions in the United States; by Richard Grant White. 4. Shooting at Sight; by Judge James Jackson. 5. Facts about the Caucus and the Primary; by George Walton Green. 6. Conversations with a Solitary; by W. H. Mallock. 7. The Limitations of Freethinking; by Rev. Dr. D. S. Phelan. 8. An American Wild Flower; by Grant Allen.

In the discussion on Church attendance we think about the only wise thing in the article by "A Non-Church-goer" was his anonymous signature. So superlatively mean are some of his utterances, that we think that most respectable absentees from Sabbath worship would little care to acknowledge him as a representative. He opens with a declaration that the more respectable do not attend, and yet he seems to fear that the opinions of the respectable community are such that he prefers

to lurk under cover. Nevertheless, he mainly repeats the anti-religious twaddle of our daily press, like the article in a late number of the Sun, for instance, on the decay of "The Prayer-meeting," arising, as it avers, from the fact that that institution was mainly an organ of sanctimonious cant. The all-sweeping refutation of those malignities is furnished by statistics, in spite of which even the writers of editorials go on reiterating their exploded statements. And, in his reply to "Non-Church-goer," Dr. W. H. Ward, of the Independent, so completely overwhelms him with the census reports that we might imagine that the Doctor himself had set him up as a *vir straminius* to demolish. We have room for but a single quotation, but his whole article is full of pith and point.

> We have, then, at a moderate calculation, thirty-six of the fifty millions of our population who are recognized as regular attendants on those Churches whose faith, we are told, has ceased to attract men of culture and intelligence. Of these, ten millions are active communicants of Protestant Churches. And this immense number of communicants represents a rapidly increasing proportion of our population. In 1800 there were, according to the best available statistics, 365,000 evangelical communicants in the country, being 7 per cent. of the population, 5,308,483. In 1850 there were 3,529,988 such communicants, being 15 per cent. of 21,191,876. In 1870 there were 6,673,396 such communicants, being 17 per cent. of the population of 38,588,371. In 1880 the communicants had risen to 10,065,963, being a little over 20 per cent. of the population of 50,152,866. The increase in population since 1800 has been ninefold; that in evangelical communicants has been twenty-sevenfold—three times as great as in the population. So much for the random assertion that "only a small proportion even of intelligent or eminently respectable people are regular attendants upon religious services on Sunday," and "the proportion is increasing so rapidly that if 'A Non-Church-goer's' life should be prolonged many decades, the greater likelihood is, that he will have to hide himself away or emigrate to escape the danger of being converted.

Dr. Ward, however, aims a sharp shot at the "dilemma swingers," "the Church's silly people," who prefer Moses to Darwin. He proposes a summary dealing with such malefactors—nothing less than total massacre, figuratively speaking. "If the Church would kill off its *mallei hereticorum* there would be fewer heretics to be hammered." The "people" who are thus to be expunged and expurgated are those

who make wry faces at accepting an ape for their Adam. Now, we are more tolerant than all that. When the people of Rotterdam complained to Frederick II. that their preacher, Saurin, was really a Universalist, old Fritz replied, "If the people of Rotterdam wish to be damned, let them be damned." If Dr. W. and our other protoplasmic friends wish to be apes, let them be apes.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (London.)—1. The Relation of Drugs to Medicine. 2. The Religion of the Paris Ouvrier. 3. The Classification of Ideas. 4. The Tâo Teh King. 5. The Discovery of Pithom Succoth. 6. John Richard Green. 7. Some Characteristics of Mr. Green's Histories. 8. The iberation Society. 9. Political Survey of the Quarter.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1883. (London.)—1. Geological Problems. 2. Lord Lawrence. 3. The Synthetic Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer. 4. Intercourse with China Fifty Years Ago and To-day. 5. Half a Century of Literary Life. 6. The Romish Theory of the Church. 7. Frederick the Great: Carlyle and De Broglie. 8. Dr. Malan on the Sacraments.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1883. (Calcutta.)—1. How far is the Commission of our Lord to the Seventy Disciples applicable to Modern Missions? by Rev. I. Allen, M.A. 2. Female Education in the Native Church; by a Native Missionary. 3. Self-support and Self-propagation in the Native Churches; by Rev. R. V. Modak. 4. Diary of a Tour in the Khasi Hills; by Rev. J. Jerman Jones. 5. What is Holy Matrimony? by the Editor. 6. Brahmoism—The Progressive Somaj; by R. C. Bose, Esq. 7. "Union of Christians in India;" by Rev. John M'Laurin.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1883. Fourth Number.—*Essays:* 1. HERING, The Beneficence of the German Reformation. 2. USTERI, Bullinger on the Significance of Zwingle's Doctrine Concerning the Sacrament and Baptism. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KLEINERT, Does the Book of Koheleth reveal Influences extending beyond the Hebrews? 2. SCHMIDT, The Meaning of the Talents in the Parable of Matthew xxv, 14–30. *Reviews:* 1. ORELLI, The Old Testament Prophecy of the Completion of the Kingdom of God in its Historical Development, by RIEHM. 2. REUSS, The History of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, by BAUDISSIN.

KIRCHLICHE MONATSSCHRIFT, (Church Monthly.) Vol. II, No. 9.—BAUR, 1. The Great Value of the Liberty which Luther Conquered for Christianity. 2. Dr. Nieden, General Superintendent. 3. A Life Sketch. 4. The Apostle Paul and Judaism, by KIKEBUSCH. 5. The Religious Conference of Kosen. 6. The New Hymnal in Hanover.

The Lutheran Reformation is the subject that now crowds all others into the background in the consideration of German

theologians. Its works of Christian love fill the first sixty pages of the "Theological Essays" for the current quarter. Professor Hering, of the sound old school of Halle, here gives us a most thorough and searching examination of the greatest movement of modern history in the Christian Church, going as far back as the Crusades to find a fitting basis on which to found the subsequent work that he has continued down to our era.

In the opinion of the learned author of this article, the Reformation may, with justice, be regarded as a movement inspired by the deepest religious spirit, and proceeding from the inner life of an entire age permeated with the very life-power of the original Gospel. And, as a mighty molding influence, it enters into the new historical epoch, and lends to it its corner-stone. And the fruitful character of this movement is not exhausted in teaching doctrines and establishing congregations. Its leaven operates on the popular life as a work of God, in these words of the Lord, "Plant a good tree, and the fruit will be good." Later investigations have paid more attention to these features than more ancient history, and still there remains much to be done to render full justice to the theme. And the one special point that now demands a more careful examination may be found in the loving and charitable deeds that owe their life to the Reformation. The famous painter, who has, in many instances, so graphically delineated the era of the Reformation, represented Luther, with the open Bible in his hand, preaching to his contemporaries from the text, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and in this he gave an indication, even better than he then knew, of the special tendency of the absorbing work.

Such good deeds do, in great measure, absolve the debts of gratitude that we owe to the fathers of our Christian Church, and prove its labors to be those of peace. And still these very works are not possible without casting reflection on the evils and shortcomings of the Romish Church of the Middle Ages; for reform finds its justice and its significance only on the ground where conditions indicate and justify its necessity. And the duty not to pass over these facts in silence becomes the more pressing through the efforts of Romish pens to misrepresent the aims and blacken the labors of the Reformation.

But it were unreasonable, however, to define only the errors, and not declare also the great deeds, of the Middle Ages, in the line of Christian love and charity. From the earliest beginnings of the Christian Church a great number of charitable foundations has been handed down to later centuries. This is especially the case in all the region of the upper Rhine, in Germany. It was there that the cloisters founded their first hospitals for the sick, and places of refuge for weary and poor Christian pilgrims. At a later period these institutions grew, not only from the organization of cloister life, but even the bishops and canons called them into existence, with the aid of Saxon rulers. In the epoch of the Crusades commenced a new era for the foundation of institutions of charity. The great migratory movements of the nations of the Occident for centuries gave rise to the necessity of places of refuge for the sick and the needy that fell by the way-side; and thus the churches and all Christian organizations were called on to exercise a broad charity toward the wanderers from their homes. In this work the Germans were always, as they are now, in the foreground. The German cities were marked for the zeal and energy with which they responded to the calls of humanity. The noblest families, the clergy, and even the emperors took a large share in this work, and all in the Christian spirit, as is shown by the most common of all appellations, namely, the "Hospital of the Ghost." In the fourteenth century there was scarcely a German city without one hospital, and some had even more. Long after the Crusades pilgrims continued to wander to the Holy Land, and crowd the highways on their journeys to the graves of the saints Peter and Paul. And again others, in great crowds, journeyed to sacred places in their own land—the scene of pretended miracles, and the site of shrines founded in memory of the appearance of the Virgin or certain saints. These would often journey without scrip or food, depending, on their weary way, on the Christian charity of those Christians or Christian institutions that they might perchance find.

But it was reserved for Luther to sanctify and deepen this principle of Christian love, and extend it to the suffering every-where, so that the works of Christian beneficence that followed in the wake of the Reformation were numerous and

varied. They were not by any means confined to the sick and poor that were to be found on the way-side, but were extended, in a missionary sense, to those that were in ignorance of spiritual things, as well as in worldly need. No great want of the race was neglected by Luther, in the course of his marvelous career; and he is, in one sense, the founder of the numerous institutions for the training of the young. He believed in the intelligent Christian home with a wealth of religious knowledge in itself; while in possession of the Bible in the vernacular tongue, thanks to his labors. To this end he insisted on the establishment of schools for the children, and especially for the female sex, until the Reformation almost totally ignored in the matter of instruction. Hence we may see that our essayist has a very wide field in the loving works that spring from Luther's spirit.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review,) May, 1883.—1. BERNARD, Marguerite Spoerlin. 2. SECRÉTAN, Vinet and Theology. 3. X., In Africa. 4. BIANQUIS, An Attractive Project. 5. Monthly Review, by Pressensé.

June, 1883.—1. SECRÉTAN, Vinet and Theology. 2. VALLETTE, The Gospel and Morality. 3. M. B., Sister Dora. 4. Bibliography. 5. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Monthly Review.

July, 1883.—1. DARTIGUE, The Primary School and Laical Morality. 2. REY, About the *Salon*. 3. X., In Africa. 4. BRIDEL, Philosophical Chronicle. 5. Review of the Month by Pressensé.

In the May number of the Review, Secrétan commences an article on Vinet and his theology, which he extends into the subsequent issue. The learned and sprightly reviewer seems inclined to be an iconoclast regarding the great Christian scholar who has so long held a cherished place in the hearts of French Protestants; and he does not hesitate to bring him down from his pedestal and say some very plain things about him, which may not be acceptable to the most of our readers. But it may, at least, be profitable to know what is said regarding Vinet in the leading French religious Review to aid us in obtaining the status of the scholar as viewed by some French eyes. Dartigue reviews a recent work by Chavannes, bearing the title "Alexandre Vinet Considered as Apologist and Moral-

ist," in one volume 8vo, published in Leyden, which can be obtained of the Protestant publisher, Fischbacher, in Paris.

Alexander Vinet has left no genuine monument, neither in the order of thought nor in that of art. His style, though admirable in eloquence, exhibits very grave errors. The arrangement of his two great works is faulty, and he approaches perfection only in a few speeches and critical essays, and especially in a small number of pamphlets and journal articles. Presented at an auspicious period, his views on the part of moral conscience in religion, and the independence desirable in the Church toward the civil power, have had much influence, but they were not entirely new. And, nevertheless, during more than half a century, the name of Vinet has gone on growing. The youth of his country are now preparing to raise a statue to him, and the world will be astonished, moreover, that this duty was not performed long ago. This will honor only the *littérateur* and critic, leaving to others the task of glorifying the publicist and Christian.

And, with a few more pages in this line, as an introduction and explanation of his methods and aims, the author proceeds to treat of Vinet in a direction totally opposite to that of Astié, because, as he says, his object is a totally different one.

In regard to the "Attractive Project" of Bianquis, presented in the same number, we may say that at a little reunion of French Protestants, of which the leading members were Theodore Monod and M. Reveillaud, both now well known in this country, the subject of a sort of French Protestant head-quarters was discussed, which may eventually blossom out into a Book Concern. The French Protestants of Paris have long felt the need of some central rendezvous where they might more easily concentrate their workers and their works, and it is very natural that those who are practically acquainted with our methods should be almost unconsciously affected by them. Therefore they say, let us now establish, at least, the germ of a "House for French Protestantism," as they would call it. The great needs for such an establishment are now pressing and very potent, as we shall detail. One of the most urgent is that of a suitable location for the "Historical Society of French Protestantism." This is now located in the Place Vendôme, in quarters entirely too small, and where the greatest care will not protect from dampness the treasures which the library contains. This common library for French Protestants possesses the most precious memoirs of the whole Huguenot race and families, and should

be well guarded and preserved. This "House," therefore, should have its library lofty, spacious, airy, and well lighted, affording a worthy depository for ancient books and manuscripts, as well as a pleasant retreat for study and literary investigation.

Besides the library, this House should afford ample accommodations for all sorts of meetings in the interest of French Protestantism, reception rooms and offices for the various boards or bodies, and a large room that might answer for lectures, sacred concerts, and all the large assemblies for purposes pertaining to the general work, something like the famous "Hall of the Reformation" in Geneva. The audience-room ought, they say, to accommodate from 3,000 to 4,000 persons, and be specially adapted to attract to religious gatherings those who would not be likely to be drawn to the Protestant churches, or "temples," as they are called. And, above all, this "Protestant House" should have another important destination for the accommodation of the pastors from the provinces, as they come to the great city, in which they are often lost, and feel as friendless strangers. Here they would be sure to find some of their brother pastors of Paris, who would naturally assemble in a reading-room where all religious publications of interest to them should be on file. And all this, let us say, though perfectly natural to us, because the outgrowth of our practical life, is, or will be, almost a revelation to the ordinary French pastor, who scarcely knows what it is to confer with any great number of his colleagues, or have much in common with them. It is another instance of the introduction of our methods in harmony with the practical tendency of the times.

Pressensé, in his Monthly Review of the June number, gives some interesting revelations regarding the separation of Church and State in France. It would seem that those who talk most loudly concerning it have the least confidence in effecting it. The greatest antagonists of the Church are quite willing to listen to some means of applying a remedy to the situation. One day Hyacinthe was conversing with Gambetta about the matter, when the great orator and statesman, raising his arms, exclaimed, "The separation of Church and State! why, it would be the end of the world!" Even Hyacinthe himself, in one of his impassioned appeals, declared that if the State aid

were withdrawn from the Church the latter would need betake itself to its staff and wallet, as it, in former times, commenced. He was not opposed to this if the movement were animated by a Gospel spirit; but he would deprecate it if used to impose yet more strongly the superstitions of the Church. And he also declared that neither the Church nor the country was prepared for such a transformation, and he undertook to prove it by a series of considerations thus: "Does the separation of Church and State indicate that these two powers mutually ignore one another? Yes, in the proper sense of the term, such is the meaning of the proposed formula." But this reciprocal ignorance is, in the opinion of Loyson, a chimera and absurdity. In his view the priest has a mission in the state of which he cannot be deprived, and then he asks the question, "By what right can the state issue laws interdicting the religious marriage which is not preceded by the civil marriage?" And the orator then goes off into a series of assertions, of brilliant stage effect, closing magisterially with the famous utterance of Victor Hugo: "Pity for those who have not a heart in their breast, and in this heart a God!" To all of which we say that it is quite difficult to know what these two great men mean when they talk about their religious or anti-religious convictions. Either one of them seems quite ready to risk an inconsistency, at least, in the absorbing passion to cast off some high-sounding phrase that virtually goes up like a rocket, and falls like a stick.

This irresistible tendency of French statesmen to run off into fine phrases is again illustrated in the article of the July number by Dartigue, on the "Primary School and Laical Morality." The plain, practical meaning of all this is an endeavor to introduce into the secular primary schools a system of morality to be taught by lay teachers, instead of the religious teaching formerly imparted by the priests. The aim is a very noble one, and the measure of great import, if genuinely and practically carried out. But behind this question, so apparently secular, there lies in reality a religious one which is found in the heart of all the questions now debated by the French Chambers. This "*Religious Question*," now holding the foreground, is like a Sphinx propounding enigmas to those who are least able to solve them. What is laical morality? is not very

easily answered, and "all the world," as the French say, is unanimous in pronouncing it at least equivocal, as any question from the Sphinx might be supposed to be. Some pronounce laical morality to be the equivalent of independent morality, whatever that may be, though it is by its adherents defined to be "a morality which is fully sufficient unto itself, finding in itself alone its laws, its sanction, its authority, and its aim, without the aid of any religion or philosophy." And in giving this we do not speak of those men who make of this expression a war-cry, a political watchword, or an electioneering maneuver, but of men, serious and convinced, within the Chambers—and there are many of them—who hold this language: "Morality comprises two distinct parts—the one clear and the other obscure; the one, evident in itself, obtaining the assent of all minds, and the other which has given rise to interminable debates, and will continue to do so. The principles involved cause the division of men into parties; the applications and the results are less a cause of discord, for on these most men are in accord." The Liberals would render morality *independent;* they would separate it from religion and philosophy, and thus put an end to the conflict; that is, they would make their own morality, and thus virtually each man would be a law unto himself. History and experience reveal to us whither this doctrine would lead its adherents.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE LUTHER CELEBRATIONS.

The entire Fatherland will soon be absorbed in the "Luther Celebrations," commemorating the fourth centennial of the great reformer. Many celebrations of like kind have taken place in past time, but this promises to exceed them all, as it will absorb all classes of the community. Already have the zealous friends of the cause been at work informing the people of the significance of this extraordinary jubilee in lectures and reunions of men of manifold interests. The feature of the day is the hostility shown by the Ultramontanism to these efforts and to the grand celebration of itself. Formerly Luther was regarded as among the greatest of Germans, and Döllinger, in spite of his opposition to the Reformation, nevertheless regarded Luther as a hero of the German

nation. To-day the Catholic organ, the "Germania," ignores his wonderful service to the German language in his Bible in the vernacular, and declares that this centennial celebration will be, it hopes, but a temptation that will soon pass over.

This it will be only to those in whom a servile obedience to Rome has smothered all sense of loyalty to Germany. For the Catholics who are willing to see the historical fact, that the Reformation has exerted a wholesome influence on their own Church, this celebration may bring a clearer conception and a deeper understanding of its influence. Be that as it may, the Protestants of the Fatherland are determined not to be disturbed by the grumblings of the Catholics, and give God the greater glory that a Luther has lived.

In this great event the so-called Luther cities will lead off. Eisleben, the city of his birth, will commence with a statue on the public square, and a grand procession in costume, representing the reception of Luther in this city just before his last sickness. A call has just gone forth from Eisenach for a statue of brass in that old city. In Mansfeld, the city of his youth, his paternal mansion is to be restored and changed into a benevolent institution. In Erfurt, the university city of Luther, the corner-stone of a Luther monument is being laid as we write, which will be unveiled on the day of the great celebration. Wittenberg performs its duty in instituting a grand ecumenical Protestant reunion of Germans of all the different classes, that there, in fraternal harmony, they may thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all shades of German nationality to Luther. In Berlin the various committees of manifold Church and civil organizations have decided on the erection of a great monument and a new "Luther Church" in a portion of the city now destitute of one. It is the intention of several other cities to found new "Luther Churches;" this is the case in Hamburg.

The civil authorities are also indorsing the matter. In Saxony there will be on the great days—November 10, 11—a school and church festival. The ruling princes in Thuringia join in a civil festival, and above all, the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany has ordered the Minister of Public Worship to direct the entire Protestant Church to join in thanks to God for the blessings that the Reformation has conferred on the people. Even in Catholic Bavaria the king has granted to the Superior Protestant Consistory the privilege publicly to join in the grand commemoration of Luther's birth. Verily, Luther still lives!

THE DISSENTERS IN HUNGARY.

The recent Jewish trials in Hungary and the efforts in the Hungarian Parliament to obtain special repressive legislation against the so-called "Sects" is no honor to the countrymen of Kossuth, who are unusually loud in their cries for liberty when they are the oppressed party. In December last the "Sects" were the subject of some days' discussion; then came the Anti-Semitic movement, and the Ultramontane petitions,

for the government to draw the strings more tightly on all these contemners of the "only true and saving Church."

Under the name of "Nazarenes," one of these sects has become quite strong. They are called by the natives "Quaker Baptists," and profess to be the "followers of Christ," which one would suppose would not be much of a crime in a Christian country. They reject infant baptism, decline to take the civil oath, refuse military duty, and believe a spiritual order unnecessary and superfluous. We see immediately what they are, and know them to be a zealous and harmless religious people, that would not be likely to be acceptable to haughty and warlike Hungarians.

Next comes the Baptists proper, of whom there are many. The complaint against these people is, that they are not satisfied in enjoying their own religious views quietly, but carry on a propaganda to increase their numbers at the expense of the "true Church." The authorities have long regarded their movements with comparative indifference, but now, with their propaganda, they are becoming dangerous, and have been so brazen as to establish a chapel bearing the modest inscription, "House of Prayer for Baptized Christians." The Minister of Public Worship, in the course of the parliamentary debate, acknowledged that these people seemed to be harmless in themselves, but suggested that their spirit of public rebellion against the Established Church formed a dangerous example, as no one can know where it will stop, seeing that they are alike hostile to both Catholics and Protestants as they are found in Hungary.

The result was the promulgation of a decree from the Minister of the Interior, announcing that these Baptists must not combine into congregations; they must maintain a strictly private character, and their ministers dispense with all official position toward them as a Church. They are not allowed to hold public religious meetings, and can only have reunions for lectures or addresses by permission from the police.

Having thus settled the question of the dissenting Protestants, the examination of the Jews was next in order; and this they found a matter of much more difficulty. It was soon seen that the hatred toward the Hebrews had greatly increased within a year. When the question was last brought up before the Parliament, the man who presented offensive measures against the Jews was laughed at, and his arguments were not answered; and now there is in the Parliament a battle of several days without settling any thing So the Anti-Semitic question exists in Hungary in all its force, as in Germany. All the trouble seems to have arisen from certain emancipatory laws, in the sense of the Berlin Congress, that have not produced good results. The majority now begin to think that equal political rights are dangerous weapons in the hands of the Hebrews, who are inclined to use them with punctuality and dispatch. There would be less trouble if Hungary had to do with her own Jews alone, but the inroad of Russian and Polish Jews complicates the matter. These are alien and clannish in spirit, and do not make acceptable citizens.

GERMAN INFLUENCE IN THE ORIENT.

The German, and we may say the Protestant, influence in the Orient is growing with such rapid pace as to attract the serious attention of the Vatican. The *Moniteur de Rome*, the semi-official organ of the Pope, is filled with anxiety at the situation, and actually condescends to describe at large the German colonies in Palestine, at Jaffa, the base of Carmel, and even in Jerusalem. Said *Moniteur* acknowledges the exemplary moral character of these Germans, and the wholesome moral and social influence that they exert on their surroundings. But the trouble and anxiety are found in the fact that they are Protestants, and therefore exert a bad religious influence. Catholicism in its various phases has a bad showing in the presence of a thrifty and zealous band of immigrants, whose object is to give a practical bearing to the Protestant religion.

The special cause of this outburst on the part of the *Moniteur* is the recent announcement that the sultan has handed over to a colony of these Protestant Germans, who go thither as a religious community, the ancient ruins of the shore city of Cæsarea, with a goodly portion of outlying land for agricultural purposes. This old town that has lain so long in ruins, has something of a port or haven, a most desirable thing along the coast of Palestine which, as a whole, is almost unapproachable by large vessels. These Germans propose to restore the city and the port, and introduce agricultural methods around them, and the sultan very sensibly says "Yes," while the Vatican groans out "*No!*" This is a true case of the dog in the manger, for the Catholic missionaries have had abundant opportunity to do all this long ago, and have neglected it.

And again, the Pontiff is troubled that the Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem is not to become extinct. For a goodly period it has been supported by the combined assistance of Germany and England, and it is now announced that the Protestant work in Jerusalem will go on under the supervision of a bishop, either English or German. This, with the present feeling in the Protestant workers throughout Palestine, is indicative of still better things in the future.

Since the triumphant result of the Franco-German War, German influence has been on the increase throughout the Orient, and especially in Palestine. The German explorer of Africa, Dr. Schweinfurt, relates from his own observation the successful efforts of the Prostestant missionary work in the East. This has taken largely the character of Protestant hospitals in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirût, Smyrna, and Constantinople; and these only want financial aid to extend their work still farther into very needy places. The Protestant schools are making great headway. The schools for girls are something unheard of in the Orient until lately. Certain establishments for the daughters of wealthy and official persons connected with and representing foreign interests, have existed in a feeble way for some time. These have been greatly improved of late by the Germans, but the movement is now taking a

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broader turn, and reaching the better classes of the natives, who are overjoyed at the opportunity of securing educational advantages for their children, and especially their daughters. The more success these enterprises secure, the more distasteful are they to the French Catholics who would smother them in embryo. But their natural foes, the Germans, see the open door, and are entering into the work of evangelizing the Orient in their way.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE so-called "Luther literature" is just now absorbing all the attention of the German theologians. At the head of these publications may be placed a famous work by Dr. König, entitled "Martin Luther, the German Reformer." This is an illustrated edition for the scholars and the people, and is inimitable in its successful delineations of the man and his surroundings. In Köstlin's great work the investigations are mainly for scholars, and still even this is a work for German youth. Never have the Germans succeeded in being more practical and popular in their efforts than on this their greatest occasion. Wilhelm Rein has, however, written especially for the young men of Germany, and given them a lively and concise book, with illustrations after Kranach. Burk has written a book, of a more independent and popular character, for the German man in the strictest sense, that is, for the patriot and lover of country above all else. This is a history of the Protestant Church among the German people, and is largely adapted for the students of the land, in the gymnasia, universities, and theological seminaries. Professor Plitt takes a prominent place among the biographers of Luther in his work on Martin Luther's life and deeds. This is very highly recommended by Professor Luthardt, to theological students, as giving the logical development of the great reformer's life, in telling how he became a reformer of the Church. And finally an extraordinary effort is being made to place the best information regarding Luther in the hands of the poor and needy. To this end the Protestant Association, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, announces the speedy appearance of a popular and cheap work by Enders; two volumes are to follow the one already appearing in the announcements. And again comes *Luther Complete*, in a full edition of all the works of Luther himself, both in German and Latin. The German works number sixty-eight, and the Latin thirty-three. These are to be sold, during the present year, for the merest trifle, that all may obtain them. In the line of a good selection from all of Luther's works, for those who cannot obtain or read them entire, the edition by Vellhagen and Klasing is recommended, entitled "The Minor Writings of Martin Luther." The earlier volumes of this edition give the polemical, and the later ones the characteristic writings.

The literary event of the moment, in Italy, is the magnificent gift of Prince Corsini, of Rome, of his very rich library and large picture-gallery to the state. This is so valuable that it cannot be computed in money. The library alone has 60,000 printed volumes and 2,600 manuscripts. The oldest go back as far as the twelfth century, and many of these are celebrated for their highly artistic miniature pictures and ornaments. Many of these manuscripts are of high value to the history of the country, referring largely to the relations of the Vatican to the princes of Europe. Among the printed volumes are some of the finest and most valuable of the ancient classics, especially the best and most celebrated of Italy; for example, an edition of Ariosto, for which a bibliophile offered 25,000 francs. To this may be added a collection of 60,000 engravings, among them some very old ones from Germany as well as Italy. The artists' names contain those of Baldwin, Botticelli, Mantegna, and Bramante. The gallery contains specimens of Vandyke and Salvator Rosa. It is considered as one of the signs of the times that a member of the highest aristocracy should make so princely a present to the New Italy, instead of passing it over to the library and gallery of the Vatican.

The philanthropists of Germany are raising the cry of warning about the demoralization of the young. Halben, of Hamburg, has just given to the public a book, bearing the title, "The Public Guardianship of Neglected Youth," quoting largely from the works of Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and Wichern. He depicts the depth of the calamity by giving the percentage of the children that seem to have no protectors, and thus become the prey of vice and degradation. He sees the best remedy for this evil in better and more conscientious teaching, and suggests that it should not be left, in a spirit of indifference, to religious bodies or private benevolence. It is, in his opinion, rather the duty of the educational authorities of the State to perform the work, but in a way that should not bear the appearance of a compulsory reformatory character. So far as possible the children ought to be placed in families well adapted to perform this work, though under the control and inspection of the authorities. The directors of reformatory institutions should be trained and skillful teachers who could continue the work of instruction, and combine it with the reformatory methods adopted, that reform might arise from instruction.

The famous German *savant*, Richthofen, has signalized his entry into the University of Leipsic by a very interesting work on China, of a geological character. He thinks he has found some very important coal-fields that will have a great effect on the trade and commerce of the country by giving to it a facile motive power. His investigations have been somewhat hampered by the hostile attitude of the population, the people having invented all sorts of reasons for preventing him from very exhaustive explorations. These obstructions were more marked in Southern than in Northern China. He has, however, sufficient data to

aid future investigations, which cannot fail soon to be made in view of the wealth that is anticipated in this enterprise. The value of this author's work on China is being every-where acknowledged, and this is the fourth volume that now appears. Many of his finest specimens have been brought to the Museum of Berlin, and are there attracting the attentions of capitalists and scholars. And the intelligent Chinese must themselves soon see the importance of these discoveries, and continue these explorations, by force, if necessary, against the prejudice or superstition of the masses.

For twenty years there has appeared in Naples a serial publication, entitled a "Collection of Religious and Entertaining Books," and one of the latest of these is a work called "A Romish Catechism concerning Protestantism," and which proposes to inform the Catholics of Italy of the character and tendency of Protestantism in popular style. In the preface the anonymous author designates Protestantism as the invention of a barbarian, and promises to show it up in all its monstrosity. The first chapter treats of the origin of Protestantism, which is here characterized as a rebellion of conceited men against the Christ. An apostate monk, by the name of Martin Luther, was the originator of it, because the Holy Father had granted the right of issuing indulgences to the Dominicans, and not to the order to which Luther belonged. The author grants that this rebellion was caused by certain abuses in this matter, but declares that the Church was on the point of correcting these when the rebellion began as a "proclamation of liberty of the flesh," etc. It is affirmed that it is difficult to give the doctrines of Protestantism, because they vary with the moon; but, on the whole, they may be defined as terrible in theory, immoral in practice, hostile toward God and man, destructive to the entire human race, and in contradiction with common sense and natural modesty, for instance, God forces men to sin, and he is thus the originator of sin. Men do good or evil from inevitable necessity. No wonder, then, that the inquirer declares that these teachings fill him with horror, and are, in some regards, worse than those of the heathens. You are right, says the priest, neither the heathens nor the Turks have such godless doctrines as these. Naturally the men who originated such teachings were of the worst sort. Their end corresponded to their accursed lives; for Calvin died in despair of a shameful disease, being devoured by worms, cursing God, and calling on the devil. The book seems to be written mainly to influence the people in regard to the supporters of Protestantism in Italy, who are declared to be only bad Catholics, and to come from the dregs of society. Protestantism in their hands is declared to be only a means to an end, which is to introduce into Italy irreligion, libertinism, and unbelief, and thus communism and socialism. Under these circumstances it is asserted that the men that go over to the Protestants are of the worst sort, "the scum of rascality and immorality. If these men gain the upper hand Italy would become the arena of a civil war; blood would flow, and the proud monuments of the land would be razed to the ground."

The literary event of the period in France is the publication of the *Souvenirs* of Renan. Pressensé is very severe on them, and says: "I frankly confess that I feel myself a barbarian in reading such a book, except the admirable portion devoted to Brittany and St. Sulpice. I am completely insensible to the exquisite beauties of this style, more enchanting than grand, and I would willingly trample all these perfumed flowers under my feet, so much do I detest their moral poison. I can no longer resign myself to this enchanting negation of the truth and virtue, and to this philosophical legerdemain which makes to appear and disappear before our eyes the good and the true with the giddy rapidity of the jugglers playing with an orange."

In the French theological line there is a goodly number of new books announced: "Fifty Years of the Life of the Protestant Church of Lyons," by Leopold Monod. "The Beauty of the Protestant Ministry," by Lacheret, pastor at the Hague. "The Idea of the Pre-existence of the Son of God," by a member of the Theological Faculty of Strasburg. "The Republic of Christ, and the Monarchy of the Pope," by Charles Picot. "Christianity and the Experimental Method," by Lagrange, preceded by a letter from Naville.

In addition to these, we notice several English theological works announced as on sale at the Protestant book-store of Paris, showing an increasing tendency in France toward the study of English scholars in theological literature.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Relation of Children to the Fall, the Atonement, and the Church. By N. Burwash, S.T.D., Professor of Theology in Victoria University. 12mo, pp. 31. Toronto. 1882.

This *brochure*, delivered before a ministerial body as a lecture, is an important utterance; alike so from its timeliness, its theological, exegetical, and rhetorical ability, and the position of the author as a Canadian Methodist theological professor. It is a timely manifesto as containing a virtual repudiation of the questionable dogma of "Hereditary Guilt." And it is a cheering sign that we receive such a manifesto almost simultaneously from Professor Tillett and from Professor Burwash—from the South and from the North, from the Vanderbilt and from Victoria.

Dr. Burwash gives in full, from the Ninth Article of the English Church, the statement of the doctrine of original sin and its results. We wish he had placed it side by side with our own

Wesleyan-Arminian Seventh Article, that the Calvinism and the Methodism of the subject might stand face to face. We say the Calvinism of the subject, for there can be no reasonable doubt that the dogma of "hereditary guilt" was interpolated into that article by the advocates of Genevan predestination.

THE ANGLICAN NINTH ARTICLE.

ORIGINAL SIN standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is THE FAULT and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and, therefore, IN EVERY PERSON BORN INTO THIS WORLD IT DESERVETH GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION.

OUR WESLEYAN SEVENTH ARTICLE.

ORIGINAL SIN standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is the [*fault and* omitted] corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually.

It will be seen, on comparison, that Wesley struck out the word FAULT, thereby repudiating the idea that our inborn nature is our own responsible FAULT. Second, he struck out, and thereby repudiated, the dogma that for being born of Adam every born descendant of Adam DESERVES GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION.

We may say, therefore, conclusively, that these dogmas are not Methodism; and no authority has a right to teach them as Methodism. We may say more—that Methodism does not merely ignore this dogma, but gives it a positive rejection and expulsion; so that it may be pronounced as, relative to Methodism, scarce less than a HERESY. We may say still more—that it stands in direct contradiction to the fundamental axiom of our Arminianism, that all *responsibility* and *ill desert* take their immediate or remote origin in a previous free, voluntary act, the act, namely, of the inculpated agent and no other; and it thereby nullifies all our arguments and protests against fatalistic reprobation; and, finally, it furnishes full justification for the abhorrent dogma of infant damnation.

It is true that our Twentieth Article, after the Anglican, attributes to Christ a "perfect... satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both *original* and actual." And this term *original* is susceptible of both a Calvinistic and Arminian interpretation. It might be made to coincide with the universal *inborn desert of damnation* which Wesley repudiated; and that meaning is, of course, to be by us rejected. It might mean that only Adam's own and one "original sin," and not that of his posterity, was expiated by Christ's satisfaction. But, more acceptably, it may mean that this

satisfaction expiates also our original sin or corruption of nature as voluntarily made our own by our actual sin and our rejection of regenerating grace through the atonement. Thus the dogma of "hereditary guilt" is more than eliminated from Methodism.

Dr. Burwash teaches that we do derive "sin," "a *principle* of sin," from Adam. He denies that Paul asserts "that we are objects of divine wrath apart from the manifestation of our sinful nature in actual transgression." But he holds Paul as affirming this "principle of sin" to be latent in infancy. "The doctrine of these words seems to be that the existence of this principle of sin within is not manifest until we arrive at that stage of moral development which brings us into conscious contact with the law of God." Yet Professor Burwash takes decisive issue with the doctrine of infant justification or infant regeneration. The child is unjustified, unregenerate, yet untouched by the wrath of God until he commits actual sin. He does not know how infant salvation can take place. And, in accordance with this, baptism does not attest the regeneration of its personal subject. In fact "the Church is not composed only of those who have already entered into the kingdom, but *of all who are seeking it.*" "She baptizes all who are *looking for remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost*"!

While seconding our professor's non-acceptance of the dogma of "hereditary guilt" very heartily, we are obliged to say that to some of his positions we must enter an earnest dissent.

Very delicately must we criticise his application of the word "sinful" to our original moral state; for it is authorized by general theological use. But it is an ambiguity pregnant with mistake. If it mean guilty of sin, *sin-guilty*, we deny its application. If it mean *sinward-tending*, we concur. And this term *sinward*, with its derivative *sinwardness*, is with us a most expressive and explicit key-word. The predicate *sinful* ordinarily means guilt; the term *sinward* means a tendency which is not in itself guilty. *Sinwardness* expresses that tendency to sin which our Seventh Article describes as our depraved moral state. "Depravity" is *sinwardness*. Nor do we like the term "principle of sin," as if there were deposited within us a positive *entity* of sin, a substance or a lump. Our depravity by the fall is, as Watson says, "a depravation by deprivation." It is an original sinwardness consequent on the original deprivation of the Spirit. Before the fall the divine Spirit, the regulator over the soul, pointed man with easy and predominant preference to the

rightful course. That divine regulator lost, man's passions become unrestrained, and run chaotically wild. Before the moral agent in this world after the fall the ways of wrong set open by selfishness and by specific sensations and passions are a *thousand*, while the way of right is *one*. Nor is this *sinwardness* a tendency to sin as to a one positive individual object; it is a tending, regardless of the divine regulator and the divine law, toward any preferred object of gratification. Sin is not necessarily chosen as sin, but it is chosen, regardless of obligation, as gratification. The object or course of action most gratifying to the individual's feelings becomes predominant, and forms a habitual "bent to sinning" in that direction. This sinwardness is rather a settled *state* of the soul than an inwardly deposited "principle."

We must, next, call the professor's attention to his extraordinary misunderstanding (p. 10) of our interpretation of the words "all have sinned" in Rom v, 12. He names us as holding that clause to mean "all have personally sinned;" which is just the reverse of what we do say. We there adduce several instances of Paul's aorist as signifying "a uniform general fact," a "normal action," very uniformly taking place when the occasion presents itself. Men do, when the probational alternatives of right or wrong present themselves, very uniformly, apart from grace, land in the wrong, soon or later. Hence there is so uniform a sinning that men are, by unsanctified natural state, called *sinners*. And so St. Paul says *all sin*, and the *many are made sinners*. This is just the sense of Wesley's words in our above-quoted Seventh Article, "of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually."

Professor Burwash does not, like Professor Tillett, merely omit to state the process of infant salvation, but he goes further, and declares that process to be unexplainable. Like Calvinists generally, he finds in it a deep mystery. That does not seem to us an honorable Arminian ground. Our theology furnishes all the premises, and nothing is needed but a clear deduction of the solution. Let us see.

First, let us carefully note that it is one thing to be *bad*, and another thing to be *responsible* or guilty for that *badness*. If we are created by God, either immediately or through the medium of birth, depraved, we are truly depraved, but not, therefore, responsible or guilty. The infant, therefore, possesses depravity, but not guilt. That is a key-saying of Wilbur Fisk's: "Guilt is not imputed until, by a voluntary rejection of the Gospel, man makes the depravity of his nature the object of his own choice.

Hence, although abstractly considered, this depravity [sinwardness] is destructive to its possessors, yet through the grace of the Gospel *all are born free from* [judicial] *condemnation.*" As depraved, there is a contrariety of character between a holy God and the irresponsibly unholy infant being. There is a real, but not judicial, displacency of God toward him. As undeserving yet unpunishable, as unholy yet not responsible therefor, he is contrarious and naturally, but not judicially, offensive to God. That displacency holds him guiltlessly inclined to sin; which is not properly sinfulness, but SINWARDNESS. In saying that such displacency is not judicial, we mean that it can inflict no just punishment. This displacency is the "condemnation" of Rom. v, 18; that is, the natural displacency toward an evil non-free-agent; which "condemnation" is not the judicial, punitive, damnation of a guilty free-agent. If God can create a being bad and damn him for being the bad he is created to be, then he may create a world of reprobates and damn them all for being the bad he has made them.

When, next, our Arminianism affirms that Christ, by his sacrificial death, became our second Adam, and acquired the blood-bought right to reconstruct our future probationary existence, it enables us to say that thereby he, by virtue and merit of this self-sacrifice, became entitled to adjust his provisions to all the peculiarities and specialties of all classes and all individuals of the race. The born individual, thereby, though not judicially condemned, is displacent, and, as unholy, is offensive to God; and so the reconciliation of that displacency, in order that God's face may shine upon him, is a blood-bought grace. That unholiness is so expiated, and that divine displacency is, through Christ's sole merits, so propitiated, that the infant's actual guiltlessness may be divinely recognized and held by God available for his justification as truly as that unreal, but virtual, guiltlessness of the adult procured through pardon. He thereby stands in the same essential gracious position as the forgiven and justified adult. No justice, human or divine, can indeed pardon the guiltless, just because there is nothing to pardon. But pardon and *declaratory* justification are two things. Christ, by his self-oblation, is entitled, as our Advocate, to *declare* the infant's justification, unworthy though he be through his sinward nature, against all who would "lay charge" against him. "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth," just because "it is Christ that died." And thus being

justified and reconciled, the infant becomes fit subject for the gracious influence of the Spirit that cures that sinwardness and regenerates the nature; so that (whether we use the term *regenerate* or not) the infant is in the same essential condition as that into which the justified and regenerate adult is brought by voluntary faith. Justification effected by securing the efficacy of guiltlessness, honors the Redeemer's sacrificial work as much as justification effected by securing the pardon of sin. There is, therefore, no need of imagining a fictitious guilt in order to show a pardon which is as fictitious. The divine real recognition of guiltlessness is as gracious as the divine virtual recognition of guiltlessness through pardon. There is no more difficulty, then, in understanding how, at death, the infant spirit is received into paradise, than how the regenerate adult is; and no more difficulty in understanding how he is just as readily glorified in the resurrection, and no more difficulty in seeing how the whole process is gracious, blood-bought, in one case than the other.

In accordance with his theory Professor Burwash gives what we consider to be an incorrect account of our Church's views of holy baptism. His words are, "Now the Church is not composed only of those who have already entered into the kingdom, but of all who are *seeking it.* She baptizes all who are *looking for* remission of sins and the gift of *the Holy Ghost.*" Does our Church not, as a practice, require the profession of justifying faith as a condition to baptism? We have heard and seen it said that she does not; but in all our extended years of experience we never knew a case of baptism simply on profession of "seeking." We hope such is not the practice of Canadian Methodism. We understand that baptism is "an outward sign of an inward grace," namely, of the regeneration which it symbolizes; and we see no right or reason for the "outward sign" to be given where the "inward grace" has no existence, and never may have. Our Seventeenth Article declares that "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of profession whereby Christians are distinguished from others that are not baptized," etc. That is, baptism is a distinctive sign of the professed and accepted Christian. Baptism assumes and declares its subject to be a Christian. But "baptism," while it is that, "is not only" that; it is something more. "It is also a sign of regeneration, or the new birth." The affusion of the baptismal water pictures the descent of the regenerating Spirit. But why picture upon the subject what

has no existence there? And so, by our Baptismal Service, the congregation is exhorted to pray that the personal subject "being baptized with water, may also *be* baptized with the Holy Ghost, *be* received into Christ's holy Church, and *become* a lively member of the same." Now in this passage there is twice a *be* and once a *become*. And the twofold *be* asks the present grace, namely, the "Holy Ghost" and membership in the Church of Christ; and the *become* asks a future blessing, namely, a continued living membership of the Church. And as infant baptism is to be "retained in the Church," so it is the baptized infant that is signed and distinguished as a present Christian, while the Holy Ghost and entrance into the Church are his present gifts and graces. That this article originally avowed "infant regeneration," both by the old Church and by Wesley, we know, for we know that they held to baptismal regeneration. The regeneration of the infant was to them no novelty and no absurdity. So that infant regeneration is an old Church doctrine. (See our synopsis notice of the Presbyterian Quarterly.) And, being in this *our* article, it is *our* Church doctrine. Yet we hold, as Wesley did in later life, that infant baptism sustains, not a causative, but a declaratory, relation to regeneration. Baptism does not (except in an external sense of the word) *regenerate* the subject, but recognizes his regeneration. And the infant is entitled to baptism, not, indeed, because he has faith, but because *he is, through the unconditional power of the atonement, without actual faith, what the adult has become through faith.* For even the adult is baptized, not so much because of his faith as because he has by faith attained that regeneration of which baptism is symbol and seal. And herein is the true, impregnable ground of infant baptism. We cannot agree with our professor in saying that Wesley's words about sinning "away the grace received in baptism" "belonged not to the Methodist Arminian theology which he was founding, but to the Churchism which he was leaving behind." Most certainly our Seventeenth Article and our ritual do avow "a grace received in baptism." Are the fervent prayers of our service all a vain form, a nonentity, a heresy? Do they not ask a present divine power upon the spirit of the child? And does not apostasy sin away the grace of regeneration recognized and objectively "received in baptism?" Professor Burwash holds our view to be dangerous to Methodism. We think the danger is on the other side. Very serious, indeed, is the danger of baptizing unregenerates into the Church. Let Church-

membership become popular, and such a practice would gather into the Church the politicians, the millionaires, the respectables, and the worldly crowd, who are by no means "lively members of the same." The "sign" of regeneration should be given only to the regenerate, and the Lord's Supper only to the Lord's people. Baptism initiates the infant into the Church of Christ, but not into a particular Church organization, as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is that organization, however, that is bound to require the full evidences of true justifying faith in its catechumen, in order to admission to its fellowship and its ordinances. In our own Methodist Episcopal Church the approved probationer is publicly examined as to his spiritual state and purposes. As a mere seeker he cannot be admitted into the Church, though voluntarily in class under her nurture. Of the probationary candidates, when coming forward for full membership, it is said: "Into this holy fellowship the persons before you, who have *already received the sacrament of baptism*, and have been under the care of proper leaders for six months on trial, come seeking admission." And then it is asked of them, "Have you saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ? *Ans.* I trust I have." Through this probationary catechumenship and induction the worldling does not desire to pass. It would be by the relaxation of these safeguards, that is, *by the baptism and admission of mere professed seekers*, and not by the doctrine of present infant salvation, that the Church would become secularized.

Sin and Grace Considered in Relation to God's Moral Government of Man. By Rev. JAMES GRAHAM. A Lecture delivered before the Theological Union of Victoria University, May 13, 1883. 12mo, pp. 36. Toronto: William Briggs. 1883.

Mr. Graham's lecture, like Professor Burwash's, was delivered at Victoria University, and to a certain extent takes the same positions. He does not go so elaborately into the exegesis of the discussion, but states his position more clearly and explicitly, relying on the intuitive common sense of hearer and reader to ratify his judgments. He is more decisive in rejecting the dogma of "hereditary guilt." He does not, however, fully discuss the moral state of the infant, nor declare whether it is a state of justification through Christ, or regeneration. Nor does he discuss the process by which the infant through the atonement attains final salvation and heaven. We are able to commend this *brochure* to attention while it utters its clear message for itself.

The following is his clear deliverance on the leading topic:

The following questions are still subjects of discussion: "Are we legally liable to suffer for our original depravity the penalty annexed to Adam's original sinful act?" and "Are we personally guilty for the depravity of our nature as transmitted to us?" Numerous theologians have answered, and do answer, these questions in the affirmative, but I must answer both in the negative. If our depraved moral state be viewed ethically, and in comparison with the holiness of the Divine law, it may be pronounced sinful, as being in nonconformity to that law. But this transmitted sinfulness of nature forms no just ground for the charge of personal guilt for its existence as transmitted to us. Hereditary personal depravity, there may be, but hereditary guilt there cannot be. The ambiguous use of the term guilt, to designate our relation to the Divine government because of inherited depravity, has darkened and perplexed this subject. The strict sense of the term guilt is liability to punishment for free personal wrong-doing. But unfortunately it has been largely used, in the theology of Christendom, to mean liability to legal punishment, and even liability to providential suffering, through the wrong-doing of others.—Pp. 9, 10.

On *infant salvation* the following:

Half the human race is said to die in infancy. All these never were probationers. The decision of many Christian theologians on these dead children would be a matter of curiosity only for its sadness. By some, they have been sent to a limbo milder than hell, but still outside of heaven. By others, they have been consigned to annihilation, without hope of resurrection. And by others they have been doomed to an eternal hell of torment, if not among the elect. But over those hills of darkness light is breaking, calm and clear. Even the upholders of creeds which restrict the benefits of Christ's atonement to the elect number of the human race by the eternal decree of God, have ventured to hope that all dying in infancy are saved. I do not see how that hope can be rationally entertained by those who maintain such a decree; because, all the children who die could only be saved by being included in the elect number; and I do not see how any one can rationally hope that all dying in infancy are included in that elect number. . . . Our *ignorance of the mode of the administration* of the saving grace in these cases cannot make void the fact that the atonement in Christ brings salvation to all men; nor should it eclipse our faith that God will impart the saving benefits of the atonement to all who do not wilfully reject them.—Pp. 25–27.

On *temporal evils entailed upon us from Adam*, the following:

The argument is this: "None but the guilty can suffer under the government of God; even infants do suffer under that government; therefore they must suffer because of the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to them." To this I reply, it is not true that none but the guilty can suffer under the government of God. Whatever may be our philosophy of suffering under the Divine government, the fact that the innocent do suffer under it is self-evident; and, therefore, all conclusions based on the assumption that none but the guilty can suffer under the government of God crumble into ruin.—Pp. 17, 18.

We fear the opponent here would deny that any are "innocent." We venture to suggest the following views on this question, based on our note on Rom. v, 12.

Unfallen Adam, we suppose, was, by the indwelling Spirit and the power of the tree of life, (emblem, perhaps, of immortalization through Christ,) placed upon a high plane of being. The disintegration of the material organism, and consequent disease

and death, were prevented. In his compound nature of spirit and body, angel and animal, the spirit so elevated even the animal that Adam realized, approximately, Paul's conception of "spiritual body." *See our note on* 1 Cor. xv, 44. The fatal act of sin sunk him as animal at once from this high plane of supernature to the conditions of animal nature; on the same plane essentially, so far forth as animal, with the other animal races, and so to material disintegration, pain, disease, and dissolution. Yet, though as animal, he passes through death, his higher nature secures, through unconditional redemption, spiritual immortality and bodily resurrection.

This was unquestionable *personal penalty* for guilt upon Adam. But it was, through the universal and fundamental law of propagation by which like parent generates like offspring, that bodily and mental suffering were entailed upon Adam's posterity by natural consequence, and not by penal infliction; through propagative law, and not by judicial guilt. When a prime minister for some offense is degraded to the ranks of his majesty's subjects, that is upon him penalty for guilt. But when he begets children, and they are subjected to the same humble level, that is natural propagative consequence. The rest of his majesty's subjects were born to those conditions without any offense or royal displeasure. And so God might, without penalty or injustice, have created man in nature conditions, like other animals, without any preceding fall. He so created races of animals of different grades, to furnish out the varieties of nature, before the fall. Moreover, the various grades of being are suitably placed in surroundings adapted to their nature. Air, earth, and water, mountain-top, plain, and marsh, are all conditions suited for their proper occupants. And so it was fitting that man, the immortal animal, should be placed in a world suited alike to his immortal probationary prospects, and to his transiency as a dying race. He is a normal sinner in a humble world, amid temptations and trials and tasks calculated to form his character, if he will, to a lofty hardihood of virtue, piety, and immortal rewards. Other animals (as we showed in our notice of Prof. Hicks in last Quarterly) testify that they are endowed with an existence, with all its disqualifications, so happy that they are ready to flee from death and fight for life with all their will and power. They are in covenant with God to accept all the ills for the basal good with which those ills are compensated. The law of satisfactory COMPENSATION is the divine justification for their creation. Into that contract man has entered;

and if he breaks his contract and commits suicide, it is the result of either insanity or of a desperate wickedness by himself acquired. The animal races are not punished with the natures bestowed upon them. The beautiful so-called "bird of paradise" is not punished because he does not live in Paradise. A gnat is not punished because he is not an eagle, nor a mouse because he is not a lion. So neither is man punished because he is not an angel, and does not live in Eden as his first progenitor did.

But while the progeny thus lowly placed are not punished for a sin not their own, this dispensation from God is an exhibition in the sacred history of our world and of the universe of the fatal nature of *sin*. It shows how a one sin and how a first sin may entail immeasurable ruin. The first alcoholic glass may similarly entail upon the drinker uncontrollable appetite, depravation, death, and hell. Adam, it is popularly said, only ate an "apple;" and this man only drank the grape; and both apple and grape bring perdition. And this analogy, ever repeated in human history, explains the apparent smallness of Adam's probationary test at which skepticism cavils.

But, in proof of "Hereditary Guilt," we are pointed to such passages as Matt. xxiii, 35, where our Lord says to the Jews of his day, "That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, etc. . . . All shall come upon this generation." But this merely ancestral sin is accepted and ratified by "this generation;" and so voluntarily made their own "hereditary guilt." The whole previous context narrates their own present enormous wickedness, and declares that it is THEREFOR that the accumulated consequences of past wickedness should come in temporal penalty upon them. And this is, in fact, proof of our own doctrine. By uniformity of wickedness the whole national line had become as one guilty person, until the day of execution at the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Jewish state. Our note there says, "Though the temporal punishment be commensurate with the guilt of their whole history, not a man really suffers more than his own sins deserve;" and, we may add, not an infant whose death is not a translation into life. And "*each man may repent, and be saved* in the world to come." And then, verse 37, follow our Lord's plaintive words, "How often would I have gathered thy children, and *ye would not!*" It was their own sins that had made the national guilt their own. And thus it is that, according to the Decalogue, God visits "the iniquities of the fathers upon the

children;" because the children, by a like wickedness, are alike guilty, and suffer really no more than their own deserts. And so Achan's children were put to death, not to punish them as *guilty*, but as a punishment to the father. And Levi paid tithes, being in the loins of Abraham, not from any *guilt* of his own, but by the natural fixing of his relative position in life by heredity. And be it specially noted that all these visitings of parental sins upon posterity belong wholly to the temporal, earthly, law of descent, and not to the system of eternal retribution.

And perhaps these views may aid to solve, too, the problem of INFANT NON-PROBATION—the problem that induces Dr. Prentiss, in the Presbyterian Review, to argue against all probation, and Dr. Newman Smyth to demand a *post-mortem* probation for infants. In thus being blended into one, the two kingdoms—namely, the realm of man's animal nature and the realm of probation and immortality—modify each other. The realm of nature secures bodily death, even of infants; the realm of probation secures resurrection. In the former the Divine Ruler exhibits the blended realm in its most benign aspect of non-probational, unconditioned grace through Christ; in the latter he manifests the probational alternative aspects of conditional grace and justice. The fall is thus simply man's subjection to the law of all earthly races. With both vegetable and animal progenies premature death is arrest of development. The infant oak, trampled as a shrub to death, can never shoot up its trunk, sweep the clouds with its top, and shake the tempests of centuries from its sides. The slain lion's whelp can never rouse the forest with his roar. And so the dying infant immortal, though raised to perfect bliss, may never unfold the fullness of his probationary being. He can never appear as the hardy moral warrior victorious through grace in the battle of life. He has been allowed only to *be*, and to *suffer*, but not to *do*. He may be as an ever-blooming, ever-blissful flower in the garden of God, but not the stately tree. He would be living proof of the predominantly gracious nature of the probationary kingdom. Why should not both these aspects present themselves in the one blended realm? And what need of the *post-mortem* probational appendix? What ground for assuming full literal probation for all as an unfailing law? Is not the appendix an awkward structural addition? Could not the end be better secured by postponing, in all cases, death to adult age?

The apostle states that it is as *natural result* of our descent

from our progenitor, setting us down upon a lower plane of being, that "death passed upon" Adam's nature, and from him death naturally "passed upon all men," for that *all normally sin.* They are normal *sinners*, naturally, apart from grace, tending to sin, and so *natural sinners;* and so they are placed, not only upon the proper plane of such a grade of being, but in the suitable surroundings and amid the vicissitudes of such a grade. The apostle does not, nor, we think, does the Bible, anywhere say, that this *passing upon* of death was a *penalty* upon the *guilt* of the innocent progeny. Each and all are placed under the beams of the atonement, yet each and all on his and on their probation. And probation is the key of the whole problem.

Philip and the Eunuch; or, The Instruments and Methods of Africa's Evangelization. A Discourse delivered in the Park Street Church, Boston, U. S. A., Sunday, October 22, 1882, by EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN, LL.D., President of Liberia College. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. University Press. 1883.

Dr. Blyden contemplates the Ethiopian eunuch, uniquely, from an Ethiopian stand-point, as being himself an Ethiop, though clearly not a descendant of the eunuch. He understands his fellow-countryman as we outsiders spontaneously do not. For he holds the Ethiopians, or Negroes, with the capital N, to be all one great race—all his own kindred—whose continental borders have indeed been invaded, but whose interior has never been overcome by conquest or commingled by immigration. His exposition is eloquent, and what is more valuable, since it abounds with surveys and suggestions momentously important at this time to the Christian Church in its stupendous and pressing enterprise of winning Africa for Christ.

His basal point in the text is that not Philip, the Shemitic deacon, was sent to Ethiopia, but the Ethiopian himself. And the doctrine based upon it is that similarly, at this day, Ethiopia must be converted by Ethiopians, Negroland by Negroes, Africa by Africans. Aryan attempts have been uniform failures. The missionary apparatus must be founded in Africa, must in due time be manned by native-born Africans; and not till then can the African heart, in the heart of Africa, be reached and regenerated.

He illustrates his position by a unique survey of history. Africa is a magnet of very powerful repellancies. The Aryan attempts to conquer from the north have only won the northern margins. Whether the old Pharaonic Egyptians, the Persians under Cambyses, the Greeks, or the Romans, made the attempt, deeper

Africa remained to them the "Dark Continent," mysterious, impenetrable, unconquerable. The Christian Church of the early ages suffered a similar defeat. In the north-east was the Greek Church of Origen; in the north-west was the Latin Church of Tertullian and Augustine; and both have been swept away. Why? Just because they were Greek and Latin, and not true-blooded Negro. They were African only in geography and not in race. Still later the Catholic Portuguese seemed on the point of Catholicising Africa; but the converts are no longer Christian, are degraded in character, and hostile to the approach of the Christian missionary. How sad the story of later Protestant missions we too truly know. Meantime, the true Ethiopian Church, the Abyssinian, planted, as is believed, by the Ethiopian eunuch, has been, amid the fires and storms and bloodsheds of ages, unyielding as adamant. It stands at this day self-sustained and self-contained, the most conservative of Churches, because it determined to maintain its primitive apostolic identity, and at this day is profoundly jealous of innovation and repellant of foreign invaders.

And now a powerful enemy to Christianity is in the field, and in the full career of success and triumph. To human appearance Mohammedanism will possess the continent. What Christianity does must be done quickly. And this point can be no better illustrated than by Dr. Blyden's own words:

> The finest university for training the propagators of their faith is in Africa. This is established at Cairo, in Egypt. Ten thousand students are to-day gathered under its roof, preparing to go out as missionaries of the Muslim faith. A celebrated traveler has given the following description of this great institution, the educational pride and glory of Islam:
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> "This university is nine hundred years old, (older than Oxford,) and still flourishes with as much vigor as in the palmy days of the Arabian conquest. There I saw collected ten thousand students. As one expressed it, 'there were two acres of turbans' assembled in a vast inclosure, with no floor but a pavement, and with a roof over it supported by four hundred columns, and at the foot of every column a teacher surrounded by his pupils. As we entered there rose a hum of thousands of voices reciting the Koran. These students are not only from Egypt, but from all parts of Africa, from Morocco to Zanzibar. They come from far up the Nile, from Nubia and Soudan, and from Darfour beyond the Great Desert, and from the western coast of Africa. . . . They live on the charities of the faithful; and when their studies are ended, those who are to be missionaries mount their camels, and, joining a caravan, cross the desert and are lost in the far interior of Africa," where they become the effective propagators of Islam.
>
> "And this plan of propagating religion in Africa, through indigenous agency, is followed by no Christian Church with greater zeal and determination than the Church of Rome. That Church, ever ready to recognize and utilize those elements in human nature which can be made subservient to the interests of the Church, is now every-where educating Africans for the African work. The "Dublin Review," an able exponent of Roman Catholic thought, said, not long ago: "We are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in

respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in the words, *the conversion of Africa by the Africans.* Christian black settlements ought to be attempted—all over Africa, even, if need be, as among the Mohammedans—after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignore Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but *no other system will avail.* . . . Whether it will be practically possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa—as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose—remains to be proved. Large funds are required—hard heads and generous hearts to direct and carry out such an enterprise; but genuine Faith, Hope, and Charity are divine and creative forces, and we must look for great results where they exist and are brought into energetic action."

The Roman Catholic Church now possesses a number of native black priests; other natives are pursuing their theological studies under the auspices of that Church in Africa; and a community of over thirty Sisters is rendering immense service to the cause of religion on the West Coast.—Pp. 22–24.

The methods by which the Mohammedan missionaries go forth and triumph remind us of the apostolic methods, and recall the early movement of Methodism in America. The vital element was relying faith in God inspiring to bold, heroic venture. Dr. Blyden describes the methods, as he saw them, in words like these:

The true principle is simplicity in those who bring the glad tidings. Herein lies another secret of the success of the Mohammedan missionaries in Africa. In going from town to town and village to village they go simply as the bearers of God's truth. They take their mats or their skins, and their manuscripts, and are followed by their pupils, who, in every new pagan town, form the nucleus of a school and congregation. These preachers are the receivers, not the dispensers, of charity. I have met, in my travels in the interior of Liberia and Sierra Leone, missionaries from Kairwan, Cairo, Morocco, with *nothing*—dependent for their daily food upon those whom they instructed; and I have had the humiliating privilege of being benefactor to some of these self-denying men, as missionary to missionary.—Page 26.

Neither Europe nor America can send forth missionaries like these, able to enter the African huts and insinuate the Gospel into their African heads with the native accent of their own vernacular. Yet there already exists a transition to such a mode of mission, thus described in Dr. Blyden's words:

The Negro missionary, born and brought up in foreign countries, is to a large extent in the position of the foreigner; but he has the advantage of *physical adaptation*, which gives the opportunity for protracted labor; and, from the unfailing and indelible *instincts of race*, he can more fully enter into sympathy with the people; and, meeting with an unsuppressed and untrammeled response, can arrive at effective methods of dealing with novel questions, as from to time they arise. Thus he is enabled to train the thoroughly indigenous elements, who will rise up and lay deeper foundations, and give more continuous impulse to the truth which he has introduced. It is in this way that American Negroes, who have gone to Africa from this country, have been able to do a great and permanent work there; and it is in this way, and even more effectively, that the thousands now being trained in this country—at Lincoln, Fisk, Hampton, Atlanta, Biddle, and other institutions—will accomplish wonders for the evangelization and civilization of the land of their fathers.—Page 26, 27.

We have thus laid before our thoughtful readers these utterances of the most thoughtful and most experienced in these

matters of any Negro living. They point to mistakes and dangers of an alarming character; and, what is immensely better, they furnish in full form and detail the methods by which the mistakes may be remedied and the processes may be reformed. Dr. Blyden makes it apparent that if we are to attain success our apparatus must be reconstructed. First, it would seem, we must awaken the African missionary enthusiasm, especially among the Afric-American members of our own Church. A mission school should then be established, and be mostly manned by Negro professors, in Africa, for preparing native African missionaries of the apostolic type for the vast field. The Negro professors who go from here should be consecrated men, whose whole souls are fired and filled with the idea of African regeneration. The Mohammedan mission-school of Cairo should be outrivaled by our movement as immensely as our Christianity is superior to Islam. There is a world of work to do, and a glorious field is open for our brave American Ethiops to occupy and conquer.

Bible Theology and Modern Thought. By L. T. TOWNSEND, D.D., author of "Credo," etc. 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1883.

Dr. Townsend's active, brave, and pointed pen has piled up a little library all his own. He is sure of a publisher, because he has a nice little public of his own that waits for his next issue. He is a sharp, bold, individualistic thinker, notwithstanding his general maintenance of what we might call an *ultra* orthodoxy. He has felt the power of the evangelical doctrines, and exults in a powerful presentation of both their menacing and their saving force. His style, though unequal, is usually clear, nervous, and penetrating to both the scholarly and the popular mind.

The course of thought in the present volume, beginning with God, ranges over the doctrines of Trinity, Divine Goodness and Severity, Atonement, and Miracles. He meets the cavils and criticisms offered by "modern thought" often with *thought* still more *modern*. First, as to the commencing theistic argument, he argues that there is undeniably a primitive SOMETHING; a primal motor back of all existences and existence except itself. For *something* is; and, therefore, back of all there must have been an unoriginated *something* whence all originates. And, in order to account for all derived existence, that something must be a permanent cause, an eternal cause, a limitless cause. The

argument is successfully wrought out through an able chapter—the ablest in the book. By an easy gradation he steps, in the next chapter, from the primordial *something* to a primordial SOMEBODY. The original spring of the cosmical system is a Personal Being. But the distinctness of the logical advance is somewhat blurred from the fact that the *somebody* has been too much anticipated and maintained in the chapter on the *something*. Nevertheless, the two chapters are an effective and individualistic view of the theistic argument. The chapter on the "Goodness and Severity of God" essays to maintain the doctrine of hell from the terrible analogies of nature, namely, the volcanoes, the diseases, the parasites, and the armed monsters of the animal world. It thence becomes, to our view, an overdrawn condensation of pessimism, not properly counterbalanced by any thing in the chapter or in the book. At the same time its analogy does not meet the Universalist's objection to eternal misery; for the latter can reply that all the evils of nature are *temporary* for the individual sufferer, and probably for the totality of sufferers. He can argue that life is so good that all love it and desire to enjoy and prolong it, even the pessimists themselves; and that death is a brief and probably painless process for each. In fact, the analogy only makes for the doctrine of annihilationism. Dr. Townsend quotes Ingersoll's terrible descriptions of the evils of the world in confirmation of his view. But Ingersoll would claim that Dr. Townsend was only playing into the hands of his own atheism.

When Bishop Butler, in his "Analogy," defended the claims of the Bible on the grounds that all the objections raised against the God of the Bible lay equally against the God of nature, he argued against deistical opponents who gloried in holding the God of nature to be a true and holy God. Against them the age concluded that his argument was conclusive. Says Huxley, "He left them not a leg to stand upon." Skeptics then said, If that is the case, that the God of nature is so bad, then the matter is worse, and we reject the God of nature too, and turn atheist or agnostic. Such would be Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Townsend. He would say, "I have argued, from the absurdities and cruelties of nature, that there is no God; if you add a world of eternal misery to it, you redouble a thousand times the force of my argument." There does not appear any thing in this volume to neutralize that reply. At the same time, for our single self, leaving all others to their own freedom of thought, we never read Edwards'

sermon on "An Angry God," which Dr. Townsend largely and approvingly quotes, nor the younger Edwards' book on "Eternal Damnation," without a mental reaction against it. And our serious objection to Dr. Townsend's treatment of this subject is that he leaves it with a most unqualified impression of pessimism on the mind that an indignant atheism is master of the field.

We are optimistic. It flows from the very nature of Divine Excellence that he makes the very best world that the necessary and eternal nature and laws of things allows. As we live under the best possible God, so we live most serenely in the best possible universal creation. We do not live in a universe where the laws of geometry can be reversed by power, even by power increased to omnipotence. Nor can there be any corner of that universe in which two and two can be other than four; or in which the law of causation can be non-existent. We found our argument for the very existence of God on the absolute and intrinsic necessity of the law of causation. No power can produce an uncaused event. The affirmation that God can do all things is not affirmation that God can work a contradiction. Even Omnipotence must produce a world under absolute conditions, and can only produce the best those conditions admit. And then it follows that Supreme Excellence would not be justified in producing any other than the most excellent world the conditions would allow. Such a world we have—an optimistic world. And as a system of free moral agents, including capacity for sinful choice, and so possibility, and indeed certainty, (but not necessity,) of sin, is the highest possible system, so permission of evil is a condition to the highest kind of a world. This, as may easily be shown, is the Arminian and Wesleyan theodicy; and, to our view, it fully meets the cavils of Ingersoll, and explains the existence of evil as consistent with the supreme rectitude of God. Dr. Townsend, as we believe, holds that view, and it is to be regretted that he omits its statement at the proper place. There seems to be a missing chapter.

The chapter on Miracles has a good deal of originality and force. The argument that all divine *originations* in the history and progress of the cosmos are true miracles, being contrary to all past experience, is well conceived and developed. It is an unanswerable contribution to the argument. And for fresh, piquant, adventurous thought Dr. Townsend's growing library may be recommended very unequivocally.

The Hebrews and the Red Sea. By ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1883.

Moses with his Hebrews did not cross the Red Sea. That is clear. For the record only says that he crossed the *Yam Suph.* And what was that *Yam Suph?* *Yam* signifies a sea, lake, or pond; and *suph* signifies reedy, weedy. This could not be our modern geographical Red Sea, for the weed indicated by *suph* does not grow in the Red Sea. Lesseps, with his canal, has enabled us fully to know that an immense caravan including women and children could not cross the deep, muddy, rocky Suez Gulf without a miracle, not only immense, but unnecessary and incongruous. Besides, there seems to have been nothing to prevent Pharaoh from marching around the northern shore of the sea and meeting the caravan with his cavalry on the other side.

Of all the various theories of the Mosaic route, Mr. Thayer furnishes, in clear, conclusive, popular style, a due refutation. His theory is largely based upon the researches of a German-Jewish professor, Graetz, to whom he gives ample and honorable credit. Even Brugsch's elaborate and most ingenious theory, noticed in a former number of our Quarterly, is shown to be a physical impossibility. Endowed by a whole life of study with all the knowledge of the subject, supplemented with an ocular survey of the localities, Professor Graetz arranges a programme of identifications of the biblically mentioned localities by which, in accordance with the sacred text, Moses starts from a *Rameses*, makes his first station at a *Succoth*, and, after all the required evolutions, crosses Lake Ballah, or some one of the water bodies that line Mons. Lesseps' canal at the present day. That whole series of lakes, from the Mediterranean to Suez, Mr. Thayer believes to be an ancient extension, under the name of Yam Suph, of our modern Red Sea, broken into lakes by drifting sands and other natural causes. There is an elongated bay at Ballah's southern end, where Mr. Thayer's map makes the crossing place; the soil is sand, and not mud and rocks, like that of the Red Sea. Here, by the good providence of God, a national caravan might escape a pursuing army by a special concurrence of events. The cool north-east wind from the Mediterranean would drive the dense fogs into the face of the Egyptians, blinding their eyes and enveloping them in solid clouds, while Israel walked the dry sands eastwardly in sunshine and triumph. Just so, says Mr. Thayer, Washington extricated his army at the disastrous battle of Long Island. The bright morning opened the

way of escape to the Americans, "while the British camp lay buried in impenetrable mist." Moses and Washington were in many respects unconscious types of each other.

But lo, a catastrophe! Not to Moses, but to Mr. Thayer. His admirable book is scarcely out the press when news arrives that the spade of Mons. Naville, official excavator of "The Egyptian Exploration Association," has demonstrated that Prof. Graetz's identification of localities is mistaken. His Rameses is not the true Rameses, and his Succoth is not the true Succoth. Naville's labors have revealed the true unquestionable Succoth, and we are no longer enveloped in the Egyptian fog of theory, but are developed into the clear light of demonstration—a denouement that justifies a little high-flown rhetoric.

Queerly enough, Succoth is on the line of the railroad, running west to east from Cairo to Ismaïlia, and a few miles before reaching the latter place, which is a stopping-point on Lesseps' canal. We know not what led Naville to digging at that unpromising spot known as Tell-el-Maskshûtah; but after excavating nearly 20,000 cubic yards of earth he had disclosed the *temple of Tum*, the god of the setting sun, from which the place was once called Pi-tum, or town of Tum, identical with Pithom, one of the "treasure cities," or rather *storage cities*, of Pharaoh, built, according to Exodus, by Hebrew hands. There is the town wall, inclosing the temple, and, what is more thrilling, the very granaries which were the very depots of Pharaoh's crops, the very structures attributed to the Hebrew serfs, made of bricks, with and without straw! The finds plentifully indicate the hand of Rameses Second, and confirm the opinion that he, the *Sesostris* of the Greek historians, the Napoleon of Egyptian story, was the real oppressor of Israel. The name Pithom abundantly occurs, and in such combination with *Thuku-t*, Succoth, as to identify the two as one. Here, then, we have, for the first time in the whole discussion, not theory, but *fact*. We know the first stopping-place of the Mosaic route, Succoth, and we inferentially know that Rameses was a day's journey westerly from Succoth. Of course, the farther Mosaic route was easterly, but what its precise line, and where the exact crossing, can be disclosed only by the spade of the future. And it may be added that there is now the grandest field for the mission of that valuable utensil in the Goshen section of Egypt. This Exploration Association deserves and needs a munificent liberality. Traces of ancient Israel may there be found which, according to

present auspices, may prove the contemporaneity of the Book of Exodus, with a conclusiveness which nothing but the brilliant genius of Prof. Kuenen, and Prof. Toy, and the other "post-exilic" brethren can confute. Thus far we find that the Succoth of Graetz is a good distance north of the Succoth of Naville, but whether, after all, the farther conjectural Mosaic route as given by Graetz might not be well adjusted to the newly-found positions of Succoth and Rameses, we leave for Mr. Thayer to investigate. We think that the interest of his book is little, if any, impaired by Naville's discovery. His chapter on Necho's canal is a fine piece of critical deduction, and leads him to the following keen anticipation: "The prediction is ventured, that the remains of Patumos [Pithom] will yet be discovered within the radius of three or four miles from the new port, Ismaïlia." He could not, of course, know the key fact, buried as yet under-ground, that Pithom and Succoth were one.

The Epistle to the Romans. With Introduction and Notes by DAVID BROWN, D.D., Principal and Professor, Free Church College, Aberdeen. 12mo, pp. 152, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.]

Dr. Brown's commentary is free from commonplace, nervous in style, and abounding with the best erudition of his school. His introduction of twenty pages is finely written. His notes, while excellent in most respects, are somewhat stiffly Calvinistic, and composed as if he had never read the great Arminian commentators, such as John Goodwin, John Wesley, and Adam Clarke, besides the illustrious Arminius himself. This is particularly evident in his notes on chapters fifth and ninth.

So, on the words "all have sinned," (v, 12,) he says Paul "can only mean, for all are held to have themselves sinned in that first sin. . . . Not certainly in the sense of some inexplicable *oneness of personality* (physical or otherwise) in Adam and all his race; for no one's sin can in any intelligible sense be the personal sin of any but himself." And this last clause is an unquestionable truth which, after affirming, he forthwith proceeds to contradict as follows: "All must be resolved into a divine arrangement, by which Adam was constituted in such sense the head and representative of his race that his sin and fall were held as theirs, and visited penally accordingly." All of which, stripped of its exuberant circumlocution, means simply this, that *the innocent is held guilty and punished for it.* Suppose a human government deliberately hangs a thousand innocent men, and, in order to

justify the execution, simply holds them "by arrangement" guilty of a murder committed in Egypt a thousand years ago. We take it that would be justifying one crime by another. It would be justifying a wholesale governmental murder by a wholesale governmental calumny. The government knows they are all innocent, but *plays* they are guilty, and hangs them. There is no possible "arrangement" by which such adminstration is justifiable. This is just as absurd as the theory of *oneness of personality*, which Dr. Brown has just wisely rejected.

He adds, "Should the justice of this be questioned, it may be enough to reply that men do in point of fact suffer death and many other evils on account of Adam's sin, and this involves as much difficulty as the imputation of the guilt which procured it." But to this we reply, (as in our notice of Professor Burwash on another page,) that animal death existed before the fall, and that not in consequence of guilt; and that Adam's race was in consequence of the fall simply placed in animal, and therefore mortal, conditions. And that this is justifiable, not on judicial, but creational, grounds; namely, that all animal natures are predominantly happy, gladly accept the conditions of life, and dread above all things its withdrawal. Adam's race was, indeed, after the fall, placed upon a lower plane, but a plane perfectly justifiable had no fall from a higher plane preceded.

Dr. Brown, on the *potter* and the *clay* of Rom. ix, drudges along in the old predestinarian rut. He carefully, or perhaps carelessly, omits to notice Jeremiah's potter and clay, (xviii, 1–10,) which Paul allusively adduces, where the *clay* is the symbol of a free agent perversely developing himself into deformity, and therefore in consequence rejected, rejected according to his works. This has been the uniform explanation of Arminian writers, and is perfectly conclusive. Strange that the Calvinistic brethren so persistently do not know any thing about it.

What piles of nonsense have been written about Adam's being "our federal head" and "representative." Every progenitor of an animal face is just as truly its "federal head," sending by the law of propagation its own image and likeness down through the whole line of descent. To quote our own words, (note on Rom. v, 12:)

"Every man dies conceptually *in* the first mortal man, just as every lion dies *in* the first mortal lion; that is, by being subjected to death by the law of likeness to the primal progenitor. The first lion was the representative lion, in whose likeness every

descended lion would roar, devour, and die; and so *in him* all the lion race die. Adam, separated by sin from the Holy Spirit, was a naturally disposed sinner, and, shut from the tree of life, a natural mortal; and so by the law of descent his posterity are naturally disposed sinners, and both naturally and rightly mortal."

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Text in the Authorized Translation. By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. A new edition, condensed, and supplemented from the best modern authorities. By DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. I.—The Gospels and Acts. 8vo, pp. 541. Price $3. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

We are not very much in favor of revamping the old furniture of our fathers rather than constructing the new which should be wholly and entirely accordant with the best modern methods, (which Dr. Curry was well able to do,) but the traditional affection of our people so clings to Clarke, that he may, perhaps, be made an exception. Dr. Curry's supplementing consists in interpolating into Clarke's work, besides notes of his own, passages from the best recent exegetes, such as Watson, Alford, Meyer, Olshausen, Schaff, and others, marked by brackets. The selections are generally pertinent, and add new facts and suggestions, usually, but not always, we think, approvable. We are especially pleased with his abundant quotations from Richard Watson, the terse, clear ring of whose majestic paragraphs strikingly contrast with Clarke's negligent, simple Anglo-Saxon. Besides, he possessed a clearer view than Clarke of the current and connected flow of the sacred text, and made the subtle connective fibres far more apparent. Clarke's notes are in far too great a degree desultory *scholia*, in which the inner thread of connection is often lost. He presents no synoptic grasp of entire groups of narrative or discourse, and the bearing of one paragraph upon another is seldom well preserved. In this respect Watson made advance; and had he possessed the multifarious erudition of Clarke, he would have been far the superior commentator.

This want of continuity is, of course, increased in this new edition by the overlaying of new patches upon the old garment imported from various sartorial shops. Thus, the great discourse, for instance, of our Lord, distinguishing the destruction of Jerusalem from the judgment day, is disintegrated and flung into chaos. Clarke's double meanings of interpretation, adopted from the current exegesis of his day, became the premises from which modern Universalism deduced, with strict logical accuracy, its

conclusions and its own right to exist. Deism also could say, "If such equivocality is divine prophecy, then Jesus was of no more authority than the Delphic sibyl." And now the master-stroke of destruction is given by the editor's inserting at the end what he calls a "significant note" from Alford, in which the whole discourse is deprived of all reliable meaning, and the very judgment day is abolished. That may not be heresy; it does not deny the doctrine of retribution; but personally we are unable to reconcile it with the Apostles' Creed; with the old standards of the Anglican Church; with Wesley's sermon on the "Grand Assize;" or with the entire consensus of the Methodist pulpit and literature, Clarke included, from Wesley's day to ours.

But "the people want a revised Clarke." Very well. We cannot quite say, *Populus decipi vult, decipiatur.* If Clarke must be "resurrected" from the almost dead, none will do it better than Dr. Curry has done it. It is a noble work; and it will yet, we trust, do a noble work. Except in the almost entire absence of maps and illustrations, the volumes are very handsomely done, and will constitute two noble octavos.

The Prayers of the Bible: showing How to pray, What to pray for, and How God answers prayer. Being a careful and exhaustive analysis of the prayers of the Old and New Testaments, and of all passages relating to prayer, in which the duty, conditions, grounds, times, places, encouragements, advantages, evils of neglect, etc., are systematically presented. Thoroughly indexed. For the use of Ministers, Students, and Private Christians. Compiled by PHILIP WATTERS. 8vo, pp. 334. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. Price, $2.

Says Plutarch: "If we traverse the world it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theaters; but a city without a temple, or that practiceth not worship, prayers, and the like, no one ever saw." And if Miss Whitmarsh's "Prayers of the Ages" were any thing like an adequate collection of the recorded forms of ethnic prayers, a collation of the ethnic with the biblical would form an interesting chapter in comparative theology. There are some identical lines in the world's great liturgy. And the degree of spiritual elevation of the prayers of a people would be no insignificant key to the intellectual elevation of their day. And the degree of, not merely the sense of the divine Presence, but of the moral purity that presence required, would be a clear test of the moral character and the reality of the religion of that age.

Mr. Watters' volume in some degree furnishes a comparison between the earlier and later prayers of the Church of Jehovah-Jesus. The patriarchal prayers are redolent with an intense and solemn sense of the divine Presence, of his perpetual guardianship over the affairs of the present life, of a deep consciousness of sin, with but a dim assumption of immortality. The Egyptians and Assyrians had peopled the invisible regions with so terrible demonology that the Church of Jehovah shrank into an almost entire silence touching an invisible world, present or future. Yet the idea of that invisible world, with its dread alternatives of divine favor or disfavor, did, we are persuaded, pervade the mind of the patriarchal age as a silent, solemn belief. The utterances of that faith grew clearer as the ethnic demonologies waned, as if in preparation of the life and immortality brought to light in the resurrection of the Incarnate.

Mr. Watters dares no commentary. He simply and reverently and silently produces the records. Yet by his classifications the record is full of rich and deep suggestions. So has prayed the Church of the living God in all ages. Such have been the spirit, the method, the conditions, the results of the communion of the saints through this world's history. Reading these pages as a devotional book, the Christian heart enters into sympathy with the holy ones of the past. We are in unison with, we feel ourselves a part of, the Church of the justified. And our ministry will find a deep, personal, spiritual profit, as well as many a rich theme of pulpit discourse, in these pages.

Guides and Guards in Character-Building. By C. H. PAYNE, President of the Ohio Wesleyan University. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883. Price, $1 50.

This volume, the ripe fruitage of Dr. Payne's labors through many years as pastor and president, will be very acceptable to his wide and numerous circle of friends and admirers, both East and West. His assumption at start is that character is a structure to be built, that every man is an architect, and that it behooves him to guard well how he builds. The opening discourse happily illustrates this conception by the requirement given by Jehovah to Moses to build carefully according to the pattern shown him in the mount. And in the Mount of Revelation, namely, the massy and towering pile of Scripture history, Dr. Payne finds a gallery of sacred portraitures "the guides" for the promotion of a noble structure of character. There is

Joseph the incorruptible, and Moses the crownless king; David, the shepherd-boy, becoming the crowned king; Daniel the uncompromising, Thomas the honest skeptic, and Paul the hero; each a pattern, displaying his own traits of desirable and imitable character. Reversely a train of other characters, examples to avoid, models to shun, patterns to reject, furnish the "Guards." First, we have "the fast young man," most numerous types of whom are daily strutting along our pavements, and driving furiously through our parks and thoroughfares, and who may find their prototype in the handsome, youthful, princely, and finally ruined, Absalom. And there is his princely brother, Solomon, already crowned, celebrated for his wisdom in his youth, declining to folly in his age, type of "a brilliant failure." Their narratives are graphically related, their characters artistically drawn, and the traits to admire and imitate, or to loathe and avoid, are drawn with a skillful discrimination and a fine success. The lessons are applied with great practical power, and no young man with right feeling and purpose will fail to find in these pages rich stimulus to form his character to excellence and success.

Mosaics of Bible History. The Bible Record, with Illustrative Poetic and Prose Selections from Standard Literature. By MARCUS WILLSON and ROBERT PIERPONT WILLSON. In two volumes. Vol. I.—Old Testament History. Vol. II.—New Testament History. 12mo, pp. 448, 442. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

These are very rich mosaics, presenting in serial order, and in a very attractive manner, the wonderful unfoldings of our sacred books. The authorship and narrative contents of the Pentateuch are so presented as to deeply interest the popular reader as well as the scholar. It consists largely of elegant passages, selected from the most accomplished of modern Christian scholars, such as Herder, Hugh Miller, Geikie, Stanley, Pusey, and Milman. Very abundantly are interspersed extended passages from the best poets, the beauty of which will illustrate how rich a fountain of poetical picture is the grand old Hebrew book. Among these poetic contributors we find the great names of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Keble, Montgomery, Campbell, Reginald Heber, and surpassed by none in his power of catching the solemn majesty of the Hebrew spirit, Byron. America contributes Bryant, and, by no means to be despised, President Dwight, Mrs. Sigourney, N. P. Willis, Whittier, Pierpont, Dwight Williams, and George Lansing Taylor. The prophets are with great skill so treated that knowl-

edge is communicated of an erudite character without losing the true freshness of the subject to the popular reader. We regret that while Daniel, the clearest of historic prophets and, in some respects, the greatest seer of the Old Testament, is well and fully presented, too much deference is paid to semi-infidel pseudo-criticism, really based in hatred of supernaturalism. While such biblical authorities as DeWette and Hitzig are named as against the book, it might be well just to mention that Jesus the Messiah quoted it as authentic and truly prophetic, and that its utterances form the base of the predictions of Paul and John. Generally, however, these volumes are true to the positions of the evangelical Church, and may be strongly recommended to ministers, Sunday-school teachers, and the general reading public.

Oinos. A Discussion of the Bible Wine Question. By LEON C. FIELD A.M. With an Introduction by Bishop H. W. Warren, D.D.

This is a reprint of the articles in our Quarterly which, from their ability and force of argument, called out a decided wish that they might appear in a book form. There are added a few further sections and an appendix. Mr. Field is a young man, a graduate of the Wesleyan University. He writes in a clear, graceful, and forcible style, with keen exegesis and conclusive logic. He has elaborately verified his multitudinous quotations and given his authorities with scrupulous fullness and exactness. We are glad to draw it from the Quarterly and place it in seperate form before the public as a valuable contribution to the discussion.

And we call attention to the uniform courtesy which Mr. Field has maintained in dealing with the arguments of his opponents. Appalling as some of their statements are, he has in every case in meeting their utterances exhibited the natural dignity of a pure and elevated mind in defending what he deems truth from strange assault. None of the repeated personalities he encountered from certain quarters in the course of the publication of the articles drew from him an unhandsome reply or a direct notice. And in the addenda closing the volume he calmly knows them not. There seemed to exist the idea that he or the editor of this Quarterly could be browbeaten into silence. But the browbeat was as weak as the argument by which it was attempted to be sustained. These methods justify us in saying that we think no man can converse with Mr. Field five minutes without receiving

the impression of a model Christian gentleman. And if health permit, we have hope that his able pen will in a prosperous future do much for the Church and public.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Memoirs of John Adams Dix. Compiled by his son, MORGAN DIX. Illustrated. Two vols. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 388. Vol. II, pp. 435. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

General Dix was a New Englander by birth and a New Yorker by immigration. He was a Congregationalist by education, and became an Episcopalian by choice. Early in his life the Federalists of New England, irritated by the poverty in which Jefferson's embargo had involved them, and opposed to the War of 1812, made some disloyal efforts in the direction of rebellion, in which the South has since so brilliantly surpassed them. Young Dix was so disgusted that he became a life-long Democrat, and, if his son's account be true, remained so even after the democracy of the South had obliterated the assigned reason for it. He early visited Washington, and became an ardent admirer of Calhoun, and when, in 1824, Calhoun's friends proposed and elected him to the Vice-Presidency under Jackson, Dix of course became "Jacksonian." He served awhile in the War of 1812, then studied law, and before his middle age set up his law-office at Cooperstown, New York. There, as an able and popular Democrat, he was invited to accept the office of Adjutant-General, which imposed the duty of regulating the military affairs of the State, a post which he filled with eminent faithfulness and ability. It involved his removal to Albany, and, in fact, would install him as a member of a number of leading politicians who were styled by their opponents "The Albany Regency." On his acceptance he remarks that he must share "a portion of the odium of all mishaps which occur in the government—a responsibility which would be particularly agreeable to me."

"The Albany Regency," of which Mr. Dix was so glad to become a member, was a junto of political managers. Martin Van Buren was its supreme Regent, "the great magician" in political sorcery, of whom James Parton, (Life of Jackson,) himself a Democrat, says, "He learned his tactics from Aaron Burr." It was that great original traitor who invented the "machine;" Mr. Van Buren was its perfecter and most mas-

terly manager; and its greatest efficiency and glory culminated in Tweed, the "statesman" of the penitentiary. Mr. Van Buren and his aids organized the most perfect partisan police that had ever existed in political history. It was a complete feudal system, in which the lines that danced the descending grades of political puppets, springing from the master, reached down to the scavenger of the city streets. The machine, like the wheels of Ezekiel, had "eyes;" and so perfect was their watch that it knew the exact political value of every man that walked. Bribery direct was not so common then as now; but the bribery of salary and office, the making political service, and not qualification, the reason for appointments, was the uniform rule. In fine, the political axiom was concisely expressed by their spokesman, Marcy: "To the victors belong the spoils." New York politics, centered in Tammany, was the political fester that corrupted the nation. Transferred by Van Buren to Washington, and adopted by Andrew Jackson, the system installed a body of partisans over the country. Under Jackson's predecessor, John Quincy Adams, removals for opinion were unknown. Adams retained even in his cabinet Judge John M'Lean, a Jackson man. Of course these master managers in New York kept their own hands clear from indictable embezzlement; but under their regimen Swartout, the type of Tweed, embezzled millions, and absconded successfully to Europe. Of course he escaped, for the Regency was always true to its own delinquents. Such a thing as editors attacking, or the party exposing, one of its own tools was a party treachery of which true democracy would scarce be guilty. And this cabal of political experts, without any statesmanly ability, who never have made any record which the world might not well be glad to let die, were able by pure party discipline to ostracise honesty and ability out of public service, and secure the whole official state for men small and mean enough to be their own political subordinates. So far as their platform of so-called *principles* is concerned, it can easily be explained. Mr. Van Buren's position as a "Northern man of Southern principles" suggests its solution. It was to be the humble subservients of the Southern oligarchy, and the ruling demagogues of the Northern mobocracy. It broached the most radical dogmas for the unintelligence and demoralization of our own slums, while it was ready to sustain the haughtiest claims of the Southern despotism. To the latter it proffered supremacy for the privilege of being the pro-consuls of the

Southern imperialism over the Northern provinces. Their rewards were the "spoils" of the said provinces, and the national crumbs that fell from the imperial table. And this subserviency of the North to the Southern leaders was the inheritance of the "Regency" party. In an earlier day John Randolph, of Virginia, could boast: "It is not by our black slaves at the South that we rule; it is by our white slaves of the North." And the "Regency" were the Northern overseers over the Northern plantations.

And to them and their partisans is most largely due our late civil war and its happy, but unintended, result, emancipation. It was this obsequiousness of the overseers which bred that quite justifiable contempt for the North in the hearts of the South that prompted the war. How could the high-minded men of the South feel any thing but contempt for their serfs, who courted their kicks for emolument, and still deeper contempt for the Northern populace that accepted their rule? And the sentiment of the upper class in due time pervaded all ranks in the South. The humblest specimen of shabby and shirtless chivalry fully believed that a Southern "chevalier" like himself could whip ten or twenty Northern "mud-sills" as an amusement. They soon saw both parties, the Whig and the Democratic, trying to outrival each other in the lowest prostration before the slave-power. But it was in this work of self-debasement that the Democrats were easily triumphant, and Whigism ignominiously died of the effort. They begged the Southern leaders to make bolder and bolder demands, in order to have the merit of conceding them, and thus led them to ruin. Then appeared, prince of demagogues, Stephen A. Douglas, and asked them to ask the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Finally came the crisis; and just before secession the very Republican leaders begged the slave-holders to stay in the Union and remain our masters. It was too late. The Southrons were fully, and scarce blamably, impregnated with the view that we were a general mass of sordid poltroons. They actually declined the drudgery of being rulers of such a set, and kicked off our clinging grasp from their boot-heels.

Into this "Regency" aforesaid Mr. Dix joyously entered, without any misgivings as to its character or methods, and gave it all the sanctions of his personal probity, his varied abilities, his faithful performance of his own office, and of his piety as a Churchman. He was a stereotype partisan, faithful to every article of faith, order, and practice; a member, not only of the

Regency, but of Tammany, through his whole career. Within the party there were always splits, which were merely the fights of interior factions for larger share of the spoils. The outs of office were perpetually raising some more radical issue, some under-cut of more subterranean Democracy, for the purpose of outing the ins and becoming the ins themselves. One of these splits was that of the "Hunkers" and "Barnburners." The Hunkers were so called because they were in possession of the *hunks* or *chunks* of office spoils, and persistently hoarded them in their own pockets. The Hunkers retorted upon the insurgents the name of Barnburners, as being incendiaries mean enough to set fire to your stable. The slavery excitement now having become a nascent power, the Barnburners concluded to venture a little dallying with that ism. Mr. Dix, strangely enough, was on this occasion mixed up with the radicals. But when the antislavery question grew serious, and culminated in the Free-Soil movement, General Dix literally flunked. He was willing to use antislaveryism as a tool, but not to commit himself to it as an ethico-political cause. The Free-Soil Convention offered him the nomination for the Presidency, but he declined, and Martin Van Buren, in revenge for his ostracism by the Southern oligarchy, became the Free-Soil standard-bearer. But General Dix had committed himself too far. The Free-Soil State Convention, in his absence, clapped upon him the nomination for Governor, and he found himself in a box. As a double moral coward, he was afraid to accept and break with either the oligarchy or the Free-soilers, and ashamed to back out from his self-commitment The Rev. Dr. Dix tells us that he felt a real "sympathy" for his father in this sad balance between the two stools. We move for a substitution of pity for "sympathy," and will give it our unanimous vote.

Dr. Dix shows, in his way, the absurdity of this Free-Soil movement in that it was actually made up of a union of men drawn from hitherto different parties! Monstrous that men should abandon their old party connections, and concentrate in unity upon a new, momentous issue! He can understand, and tells how, after the gun was fired upon Sumter, all party issues were abolished and all partisans became a unity. He can understand how an unpartisan movement could be made to save the country from rebellion, but not how it can be done to save the country from the universal predominance of slavery. The Free-Soil movement was a great and vital event. It was the

necessary preparatory step toward rousing the moral sense of the North and presenting that firm issue, politically, in which freedom and humanity were finally triumphant. That it was a rally of the friends of freedom from all sections, sects, and parties simply arose from the fact that it was the then question beyond all other questions. You must strike now, or the cause of freedom and justice is lost forever. Dr. Dix's incapacity for appreciating this momentous fact arises from the fact that his Churchianity is higher than his Christianity.

General Dix's tone of language was now as low as his tone of action. The Free-Soil platform only proposed to *limit* the extension, but not to abolish, slavery. Slavery might stay where it was, but not occupy new territory. General Dix simply told the slave-holders that if slavery was to be extended and run over the continent it was to be done otherwise than by New York. He would prefer disunion to civil war. But he objected to bolting from the old party, and preferred to house in under the old Democratic oligarchic sway, even though slavery should overspread the continent and rule forever. It was the beginning of well-deserved humiliations. When Pierce was nominated he took the stump and advocated his election. Pierce promised him the Secretaryship of State; the oligarchs growled, Pierce trembled and faltered, and Dix tamely submitted to be ostracised. Pierce then proposed a foreign mission, and a second growl paralyzed Pierce and subdued Dix. The word that "the place was wanted for a gentleman from Virginia" revealed to Dix who were his masters, and how low his serfdom; but elicited no moral self-assertion. The infamous quadrennium of Pierce having passed, the imbecile reign of Buchanan commenced. Dix hastened to give in his humble adhesion. In return he obtained not even a promise. But Buchanan, unable to draw money from the New York bankers without a loyal Secretary, was compelled, upon their nomination, to accept General Dix. How ably and loyally he filled that office the country knows.

One of the most unique phenomena we ever knew in politics was the cometary appearance in the Free-Soil contest of John Van Buren. He had previously been noticed by the public mind as a *character;* and went by the name of "Prince John," not merely because he was the son of his father, the President, but because he had revealed also some keen points of his own. After his father was discarded by the oligarchy, and he had accepted the Free-Soil nomination, Prince John bravely took the stump. He ranged

through New York State, with an oratory superior to Webster's in that day of Webster's decline, with a display of wit, argument, knowledge of history, statesmanship, enthusiasm for freedom, and high ethical bearing, that broke upon the public mind with a surprise. He carried all before him with a dash and with a rush. He struck into the Democratic mind of the rural counties views so powerful and just as prepared them for a firm stand when the trying hour came. We have ever thought that had John Van Buren persevered in that same high career of thought and action the Presidential office would have easily rested down upon him. But, throughout the whole, he was, alas, a masterly and brilliant hypocrite! He merely meant but a jaunty filibuster to punish the Democrats for their treachery to his father. He then expected to return to the Democratic head-quarters flushed with triumph. But the followers whom he had taught the lesson of freedom took it for earnest, and could not be whistled back. He returned alone; and the inexorable party allowed him to creep in through the smallest hole, but could bestow no future favor on so gigantic a bolter. He negotiated, and implored, and completely fulfilled the sentence pronounced upon the typical apostate, "on thy belly shalt thou crawl;" but no belly-crawling availed him. He slunk out of public life, and closed a disastrous career in an unhonored grave.

From a failure very much like this General Dix was saved by his military talent and his bold stand for an undivided nationality. He happily falsified the assurance he had given the oligarchy that he preferred disunion to war. At any rate, defiant disunion such as was offered by the oligarchs he pronounced *rebellion;* and he was bravely ready to meet it in arms. For his faithful services in that sphere his country flings a veil over his untrueness to the cause of freedom.

General Dix, though not prominent in any one department of ability, was a many-sided man, endowed with a variety of superiorities. An accomplished gentleman, a fine classical scholar, a potential poet, an able speaker though not a commanding orator, an enlightened statesman, and a military leader, had he but known the day of visitation and rolled back the aggressions of slavery at the hour, there would have been a completeness in his career which history would have delighted to record. We are not sure that he had not greater military talent than he was allowed to display. We are not sure that he was not kept back by Republican distrust or mean jealousy. One thing is clear,

that, even flung in the shade, he was able to make some masterly points, some of which we may give, that redeem his character from all suspicion of tameness.

He was placed at Baltimore to repress the spirit of rebellion which grew rampant after our defeat at Bull Run. So gentlemanly was he that the aristocratic *she*-rebels and *he*-rebels—the *she* ones, of course, occupy the first place—of "Monument Square" queried whether a rising in rebellion—which only waited their lead—would not be amicably received. Yet the General went on in so suave a manner building up fortifications and positioning field-pieces that they had their misgivings as to consequences. Some noble ladies of said "Monument Square," therefore, called upon him in exploration. They were received, of course, with gallant courtesy. Had he been a "chevalier" instead of a "puritan," the reception could not have been more graceful. He showed them around the works. And he pointed them especially to the largest Columbiad, and asked them if they perceived in which direction it aimed? For all the world, right to "Monument Square"! "Yes," replied he, in effect, "and if a rising against the government takes place that will be the first gun fired." Monument Square was soothed to peace.

As keen a point was his dinner-table response to the British Minister, Lord Lyons. General Dix had just telegraphed an order that the Canadian raiders into our territory should, if necessary, be pursued into Canada and taken. Lord Lyons remarked, "That is a delicate point, and may make trouble." "Not more delicate than England's coming to our side and burning a vessel on our own shore." How easily in matters of aggression can England's mouth be stopped by precedents of her own furnishing!

Having so sweetly soothed his sister Democrats of Baltimore, General Dix was next sent to chloroform his brother Democrats, the rebellious slums of New York, soon after the anti-Negro riots. Dr. Dix honestly tells us how near this rabble of Irishry and other mobberies were to laying New York in ashes. Yet it was through this mass of ignorance and vice that Van Buren and General Dix, and their brother demagogues, were able to rule so largely in State and nation. Without them the Democracy of the nation could maintain no status. Occupying a controlling position in such numbers, combined and compacted together, incapable of being appealed to by reason, they are able to overslaugh the great State of New York, and thereby have given the casting vote

more than once in the Presidential election. They were now, before the eyes of General Dix, the traitors that he and Governor Seymour had aided in making them. Had he been now a mere civilian he might have addressed them, as Governor Seymour did, with a suave "My Friends." But being a military chieftain his style, we are glad to say, was Napoleonic. He reports thus: "My orders on the day I took command were, (1) to use no blank cartridges, and (2) not only to disperse the mob, but to follow them up, and so deal with them that the *same persons should never be assembled again.*" How many a future Democratic caucus would have been spoiled had there been an extensive execution of this last clause!

Out of chronological, but in clear logical, place, we last allude to his celebrated order, "If any man tears down the American flag shoot him down upon the spot." The merit of this stroke would have been spoiled had it been an *ad captandum.* But it was a pure impulse, and its publication came across the dejected national heart amid the rumble of treason like an originality and a royal inspiration, as it was.

Twelve Americans, their Lives and Times. By HOWARD CARROLL. With Portraits. 12mo, pp. 471. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1883.

Mr. Carroll's twelve Americans consist of ten statesmen and two stage players; indicating that his range of mind runs not through the military, legal, or ecclesiastical professions, but is vibratory between the twin dramas of politics and the theater. Of the ten politicians, as of the virgins of the parable, five were wise and five were foolish; that is, Democratic and Republican. And so skillful is Mr. Carroll's own—we will not say non-committalism, but—genial fairness and impartiality that, had he not something of a party history of his own, it might be hard to say to which section of political virginity he was attached. In fact, the biographies are mostly the outcome of "interviews" with the innocents themselves, and seem to tell very much their own story; so that to Mr. Carroll's genius we must fairly attribute the origination of a new species of literature, namely, the *interview-biography;* and so well has he performed the achievement that it is a species which, whether "fittest" or not, may survive and appear in further specimens. Mr. Carroll writes narrative, anecdote, portraiture, in a pleasing style, and he particularly succeeds in picturing the homes and surroundings of the eminent personages who,

having played their part as politicians, have retired, and have developed at last into "sage." We have never read picturings of Monticello, the Hermitage, and Kinderhook, so good as Mr. Carroll gives of Deerfield and Quincy. We think he might have craved from our friends of Franklin Square somewhat better externals of paper, print, and engraving.

Beginning with Horatio Seymour, our own boyhood's recollections vary a little from Mr. Carroll's statement of the geography of our native Onondaga. He tells us "Pompey, a hamlet of a few hundred inhabitants, established on an elevation overlooking an unsightly swamp—now the flourishing city of Syracuse—was the principal place in Onondaga County." Now Pompey and Syracuse are to our recollection two different localities. But if it be meant that Syracuse was itself once the swamp, our memory does not concur. We remember the primeval period, when Syracuse was too infantile to have a name, and we of Salina, one mile distant, were obliged to call it "'tother settlement." It then became "The Four Corners." Then, if we mistake not, (for we were absent some years,) it was called Corinth, and finally became Syracuse. That swamp we have reason to recollect from the vapors and agues with which, before it was transformed by drainage into prairie, it enveloped our early years. In fact, the "*fever'n agur*," as it was popularly, or rather unpopularly, called, was to our young imagination a living *sprite*, very frightful to naughty boys. On Mr. Carroll's next page we have mention of a Jonathan Foreman, which suggests to us Judge Joshua Foreman, one of the founders of Syracuse, and the admiration of our own urchin eyes. In those days of poverty, when bankruptcy was almost the normal condition of our struggling people, the columns of the county newspaper used to be well filled with paragraphs beginning with: "By order of Joshua Foreman, First Judge of Onondaga County, notice is hereby given to the creditors of John Blank, an insolvent debtor," to come and bring charges. We remember once to have seen Judge Foreman sitting in the bar-room of Cossit's tavern, Four Corners, listening to the words of a Revolutionary soldier, applying for a pension, plaintively describing how near he came to death in his country's service. "Well," retorted the Judge, "but if you had quite died you certainly would have got no pension," crowning his joke with a ringing peal of laughter, but instantly, on beholding the petitioner's disconcerted face, changing to the most sympathizing tone and manner.

There was no "hereditary guilt," we think, in Mr. Seymour's

having been of high Democratic parentage. Guilt or merit arose if, after he became a responsible agent, he followed or guided his party into an iniquitous or unrighteous course. He himself considers his acceptance of a nomination to the Presidency "the greatest mistake of his life." History, the logic of events, will perhaps reveal to him that his "greatest mistake," a mistake that has ruled his whole political career, is his self-commitment to the support of a despotic oligarchy over his country. "He says, in self-defense, (the capitals are ours,) "the sentiment of hostility to slavery was a JUST one, but sentiment alone is not sufficient to guide men." Is JUSTICE a mere "*sentiment?*" Is it not the absolute Law by which the eternal God rules himself? Is it not the fundamental principle of all right government? The sooner such statemanship as this is retired by our statesmen from existence the better for the world. Wiser would it be for Mr. Seymour if he would confess this greater than his "greatest mistake," and rejoice, like the patriot he no doubt purposes to be, in the entire overthrow of his own policy and the consequent exaltation of his own country, both South and North, as the greatest and freest nation of history.

The narrative of Frederick Douglas, given at full length, verifies Byron's apothegm, "Truth is strange—stranger than fiction." Next in interest is the story of "The Old-Time Democrat," William Allen, of Ohio. We were unaware of the originality of that man's genius, and the romance of his political history, until reading this chapter. He magnanimously refused to be candidate for President instead of Cass, as he had been Cass' confidential friend and adviser. On what a single slender thread hang great world events! Providence overruled that magnanimity to overthrow him and slavery, and save our country. Had he been nominated he would very probably have been elected; and at that critical moment could, as an ultra pro-slavery Democrat, have fatally turned the balance. And Mr. Allen was an honest man, so far as the adoption of a course of unjust policy, deliberately and knowingly, allows a man to be honest.

A Hand-book of India and British Burmah. By W. E. ROLLINS, Missionary. 12mo, pp. 285. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1883.

A pocket edition of the land of ancient wonder and romance. Geography and history have chased away the mists of fable, and leave a reality less dreamy, but invested with still profounder

interest. This little volume condenses in admirable systematic form all we would generally wish to know.

Its six chapters successfully describe: First, the Physical Outlines of India; its surface diversified with mountains, valleys, and plains, cut with magnificent rivers; its animal, vegetable, and mineral productions; its climate, healthfulness, and sceneries: second, its races, customs, civilization, and antiquities: third, its religions, Demonolatry, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, and the new Brahmoism: fourth and fifth, British and other westerners in India: sixth, evangelization. Besides a map there are five illustrations. The results of missionary labor in India are by no means dazzling, yet not discouraging. After long years it is still but a beginning. But seed is sown which, under the showers of Divine blessing, must fertilize this ancient but not arid land. Faith and hope look cheerfully over the land as sure to be overspread with the religion of Christ.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

Facts for the People. A Report of the Legislature of 1883. 8vo, pp. 45.

This important document comes from the office of "The New York State Anti-Monopoly League," Frank S. Gardiner, Secretary, 35 Liberty Street, New York. We know nothing of the political affinities of the members of this League. But we do know that its "Report" in a very relentless way shovels out upon us a mass of very disturbing FACTS; facts of which our partisan papers give us very inadequate views; facts which it is very important for every person in the community to know. As these facts present an ethical as well as an economical and political aspect, and raise high moral queries, they are entirely suitable for the discussions of our Church press, and even pulpits.

It is our unparalleled prosperity that brings this danger. We are threatened with enslavement by the accumulation of millions of the all-powerful dollar. With the increase of money is the growth of the money power. So efficient has that power become, that it buys our legislatures, our courts, our press, our pulpits, and threatens to bring us into the condition of a bought and sold people. It imposes its own prices upon us, and it proposes to tax our productions with as heavy a tariff as they "are able to bear." The

carrier and middleman fix their own profit by grinding the producer; making themselves rich and keeping him poor. It is becoming the duty of every Christian man to become a politician. It becomes him to be a constant, faithful, conscientious voter. And we are not sure but there should be a chair in our theological schools, teaching the preacher how to treat the ethical questions in our ethico-political interests. A conscientious pulpit, like a conscientious press, ought to aid in conducting our country through the moral perils that threaten us. Its influence ought to be felt by conventions and caucuses, by legislatures and by courts. The political sensorium is exquisitely alive to influences. Politicians are timid when they encounter a fearless moral force. We see this fact illustrated by the ready alacrity with which both parties have, at least in appearance, jumped upon the platform of Civil-Service Reform, a platform on which they can be made to permanently stand only by close watching from the public eye. And it is through this attainment of a purer style of politics that the great soulless corporations can be made to feel the subduing power of public opinion and compulsory legislation. The formation of new parties on every issue, producing "scrub races" that end in chance results, are, happily, not proposed. But powerful are the "scratch" and the "bolt." Let every thoughtful voter so ostracise the corrupt candidate that the caucus shall feel his power, and beware how it makes corrupt nominations, and one higher step will be attained, one vantage ground for further victories. Unless this legitimate course of reform is pursued, unless bosses are abolished and rail-kings are overruled, strikes, communisms, nihilisms, and social convulsions will break upon us. We are in great want of a true, ethical, and Christian sociology.

And its first elements must be Facts, "*Facts for the People.*" Most heartily do we thank the Anti-Monopoly League for this remarkable body of Facts. And we give a few of their *Facts* by way of appetizing specimens:

UNDISPUTED FACTS.

It is not disputed—

That Gould, Vanderbilt, Huntington, Stanford, Sage, Field, etc., twenty years ago were comparatively poor men, and to-day these five men are worth probably $500,000,000; and, through the corporations they control, wield the power of $3,000,000,000.

That they control, absolutely, the Legislatures of a majority of the States in the Union; make and unmake Governors, United States Senators, and Congressmen, and, under the forms of popular government, are practical dictators of the governmental policy of the United States.

That within twenty years two hundred millions of acres of the public lands have been given to corporations, equal to about four acres for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

That this wealth and power has been acquired largely through bribery and corruption. Mr. Gould testified in 1873 that he contributed money to control legislation in four States, and it was proven that the Erie road, in a single year under his management, disbursed more than $1,000,000 for this purpose. His interference with the administration of our courts of justice is illustrated by his telegraphing United States Senator Plumb, asking him to support Stanley Matthews for the United States Supreme Court. And the striking spectacle was presented of Whitelaw Reid, editor of one of the leading Republican journals of the country, and Henry Watterson, editor of one of the leading Democratic journals of the country, lobbying on the floor of the United States Senate to secure Mr. Matthews' confirmation as a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

That a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York recently held court in a stock gambler's office, and wrote his attorneys that he would "go to the very verge of judicial discretion" to oblige them, and yet the Legislature refused to impeach him.

That other judges and many legislators in this State exhibit a strong bias in favor of corporations, accept their "courtesies," and openly "speculate" in corporate securities on "points" furnished by corporate magnates.

That our great Boards of Trade and Commercial Exchanges are fast passing from the domain of legitimate business to that of gambling speculation, and the spectacle is exhibited to the young of the highest prizes of commerce and society being conferred upon its most unscrupulous and unworthy members.

That men who defraud the public, and even their friends, by selling, under false pretenses, stocks for which no money was expended, and accumulate enormous fortunes through professional misrepresentation, are called "financiers," and by doling out a little of their ill-gotten gains for religious or charitable objects, are able to purchase the commendation, or at least the toleration, of good men, and an influential portion of the *pulpit* and the *press*.

That because Senator Thurman was active in compelling the Pacific railroads, in which Mr. Gould was interested, to fulfill their contracts with the government, that honest man and able statesman could not return to the United States Senate.

That E. D. Worcester, Treasurer of the New York Central Railroad, testified before the late Constitutional Convention of the State of New York that that road paid $205,000 one year, and $60,000 another, to obtain legislation, and that *it was obtained*.

That in the last United States senatorial contest in the State of New York, a member of the Legislature stated that he had been given $2,000 to vote for a railroad candidate for the United States Senate; that he had given the money to the Speaker, and asked for an investigation. An investigation was ordered, and a State Senator and two lobbyists were indicted; but they have not been tried, and it is stated that corporation influence will prevent their trial, or, if tried, secure their acquittal.

That, in 1877, the railroad riots in Pittsburg destroyed a large amount of property. The railroads refused to indemnify sufferers, but endeavored to make the people of the State liable to the railroads. They tried to buy a bill through the Legislature saddling several millions of dollars upon the public. Their usual method of bribery was employed, but was detected, and E. J. Petroff, a member of the Legislature, with several accomplices, were tried and found guilty; but here political influence was brought to bear, United States Senator Don Cameron leaving his seat in the Senate and going home to look after things, and they were pardoned.

We like this method of giving, not only facts, but names. Let us know who the rogues and what their rogueries, and we shall perhaps know how and where to strike.

The following fact indicates one of the methods of reform:

When John Quincy Adams entered the House of Representatives he owned several shares of the United States Bank, but he immediately sold them on the

ground that no Representative should have an interest in any matter that might come before the House for legislation. Times have changed since then; now a large number of our Representatives are sent to our National and State Legislatures by corporations in which they are interested, or by whom they are "retained," either to make laws in their interest, or to prevent the people from making laws protecting the public interest; in short, to protect class interests—taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

Has not the time come for the passing of a law or another amendment to the Constitution providing that no Representative shall vote upon a question in which he is pecuniarily interested?

Of the leading papers of New York, of both parties, the Post, the Graphic, the Journal of Commerce, the Tribune, and Brooklyn Eagle, speak in bold terms. The Republican Party has accomplished some of the noblest achievements in history. The query now is whether it will undertake this new emancipation. If it unites with the Monopoly, and becomes subservient to the new Oligarchy, its doom is sealed.

The following is the language of one great Republican:

> The modern barons, more powerful than their military prototypes, own our greatest highways and levy tribute at will upon our vast industries. And, as the old feudalism was finally controlled and subordinated only by the combined efforts of the kings and the people of the free cities and towns, so our modern feudalism can be subordinated to the public good only by the great body of the people, acting through their government by wise and just laws.
>
> JAMES A. GARFIELD.

And the following is from an eminent Democrat, Senator Beck, of Kentucky:

> It is impossible to have an honest Legislature, State or Federal, so long as Representatives are sent who owe their election to, or are personally interested in, great moneyed corporations or monopolies. No matter whether they call themselves Democrats or Republicans, they are not the representatives of the people; they are simply the agents and attorneys of those who seek, by taxing the masses, to enrich themselves, whenever they owe their election to monopolists, or are themselves interested in class legislation.

One of the admirable plans of this "Report" is its synopsis of votes given by the members of the last New York Legislature for or against each and every measure favoring monopoly, the former printed in appropriate black and the latter in red. This brings the whole story under one glance. The electors of the State know who are to be re-elected and who not. We advise every American citizen to whom this subject is new to write to Mr. Gardiner above-named, inclosing two postage-stamps for this pamphlet. On one of its pages will be found a list of the valuable publications of the League.

Miscellaneous.

"*Connectional Plan.*" A Plea in Behalf of Worn-out Preachers, Widows, and Orphans, with a Prayer to the General Conference of 1884. By JOHN L. SMITH, of the North-west Indiana Conference. 1883.

Although our denominational press is now all alive with the discussion of the time-limitation of our itinerancy, it seems to us there is a more important topic now before the Church. Since the publication of the statistics showing how small a minority of our ministers serves through a triennium in the same church, and how large a majority serves through but a single year, we have lost interest in that topic. Flinging off the limitation will scarce make any change. Bishop Hedding's wise and witty statement, heretofore quoted by us, proves itself true: "Don't feel bad, brethren, because we move you; for if we didn't the people would." The people do move the ministry, and all the bishop does is to step in and see that the moving is done for the best good of all concerned. The more important question discussed in this pamphlet is the provision for our superannuate preachers and their dependents. And the surprise is, that our preachers in mid-life do not so realize the prospect before them of an old age of penury as to bring about some plan for affording a proper relief from such a sad result. Mr. Smith's pamphlet presents the details of such a "Connectional Plan" as we think ought, by all means, to be adopted. It is simply to *make the establishment of an ample fund for our superannuates the main object in our Centenary contributions in* 1884.

We vote for this proposition with all our heart and both our uplifted hands. Then let the profits of our Book Concern go to their legitimate object, the spreading a cheap Methodist and miscellaneous literature in all our Methodist families.

The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A Monograph. By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Greek in Columbia College. 8vo, pp. 49. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

The Alexandrian obelisk, now placed in our city park, was originally based in Egypt upon four large sea-crabs, of which two, in a somewhat dilapidated condition, are now placed in our Metropolitan Museum. On one of these is an inscription stating the time of the erection of the obelisk and the name of the architect who performed the achievement. Professor Merriam here gives a detailed but very interesting narrative of his researches in

clearing the inscription of apparent discrepancies and obscurations, bringing to light its true reading. It was a pursuit of knowledge under great difficulties, with great perseverance, learning, and skill, and it brings out conclusive results. The obelisk was erected in the eighth year of the reign of Augustus, under Barbarus, Prefect of Egypt, by the hand of Pontius, the architect. Barbarus and Pontius are identified in history with thorough research and complete success.

Easy Lessons in Vegetable Biology; or, Outlines of Plant Life. By Rev. J. H. WYTHE, M.D., author of "The Science of Life," "The Microscopist," "Agreement of Science and Revelation," etc. Small 12mo, pp. 94. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1882.

A pleasing presentation of the elementary principles of vegetable life.

Dickinson College: The History of a Hundred Years. Alumni Oration delivered at the Centennial Commencement of the College, Wednesday, July 27, 1883, at 8 P. M. By the Rev. GEO. R. CROOKS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey.

Dickinson's century of history is given in Dr. Crook's best style.

Liquordom in New York City. By ROBERT GRAHAM, Secretary of C. T. S. New York: No. 47 Lafayette Place. 1883.

An appalling picture of grog-shop rule in our great metropolis.

University of Michigan. A Memorial Discourse on the Life and Services of Rev. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN COCKER, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the University from 1869 to 1883. Delivered in University Hall, by request of the Senate, June 24, 1883, by ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. Published by the University, 1883.

An eloquent memorial of a brilliant career.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY.—*By the Gate of the Sea.* A Novel. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY, author of "Joseph's Coat," "A Life's Atonement," "Hearts," etc. 8vo, pp. 29. New York: Harper & Brothers. *Thicker than Water.* A Novel. By JAMES PAYN, author of "By Proxy," "High Spirits," "A Beggar on Horseback," "Gwendolen's Harvest," "For Cash Only," "The Best of Husbands," "What he Cost Her," etc. 8vo, pp. 74. *The New Timothy.* A Novel. By WILLIAM M. BAKER, author of "Inside," "The Virginians in Texas," "His Majesty, Myself," etc. 8vo, pp. 71. *The Romantic Adventures of a Milk-maid.* A Novel. By THOMAS HARDY, author of "A Laodicean," "Far From the Madding Crowd," "The Return of the Native." Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 23.

Laura Doone. A Romance of Exmoor. By R. D. BLACKMORE. 12mo, pp. 556. Harper & Brothers.

Philosophic Series—No. II. Energy: Efficient and Final Cause. By JAMES M'COSH, D.D., LL.D., D.L., author of "The Laws of Discursive Thought," "Emotions," etc., President of Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1883.

The Cruise of the Canoe Club. By W. L. ALDEN, author of "The Moral Pirates," "The Cruise of the Ghost," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

Presbyterianism. By JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A., Findhorn. 12mo, pp. 151. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke.

Fielding. By AUSTIN DOBSON. 12mo, pp. 184. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1883.

HON. OLIVER HOYT.

THIS well and favorably known New York layman, whose portrait accompanies this sketch, was born in Stamford, Conn., in 1823. His ancestors belonged to the sturdy yeomanry developed in the early history of New England, which gave Connecticut its positive and energetic character. The family had physical and intellectual vigor, and a strong moral and religious sense. Mr. Hoyt is one of seven sons, of whom *six* survive; all but one weighing not far from two hundred pounds and averaging nearly six feet in height. He was apprenticed to the trade of tanner, and went into business for himself, in New York, before he was twenty-two years old. To his own business, which he understands from the rudiments to the most complex mechanical and the most far-reaching financial operation, he has steadfastly adhered, having been connected with the firm of Hoyt Brothers from its origin. In this business he has accumulated a large fortune, the result of integrity, fidelity, and legitimate manufacture of goods necessary to civilization. Large as his fortune is, if his gifts to the Church, the cause of education, the poor, to his friends, his country, and his native town were added to it, they would vastly increase, if they did not double, its volume.

The great event of his life was his conversion. Though trained Calvinistically he was converted under the preaching of "Father Oldin," when the convert was a boy and the preacher in the prime of life. Since that period he has been devoted to the Methodist Episcopal Church. For twenty-five years he has been superintendent of the Sunday-school; his place in the prayer-meeting is rarely vacant, and his voice in prayer and exhortation in revival services is heard with moral power among those who have known him from his childhood. His interest in Lay Representation is too well known to need more than mention.

Both the Church and the State have recognised and worthily honored his integrity and ability: the Church, by electing him a Lay Delegate of the General Conferences of 1872 and 1876; the State, by electing him for several successive terms as a member of its Senate.

Stained by no excesses in youth, by no moral irregularities in manhood; his wealth accumulated by no doubtful transactions; the same honest man in public and in private; he has just passed his sixtieth birthday in the esteem of his acquaintances and the affections of his friends.

He has been for many years a Director of the National Park Bank; and for a quarter of a century one of the Managers of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has been the Treasurer and an active trustee of the Educational Fund from its origin in 1868.

J. M. B.

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